SOURCES OF HISTORY ILLUMINED BY LITERATURE

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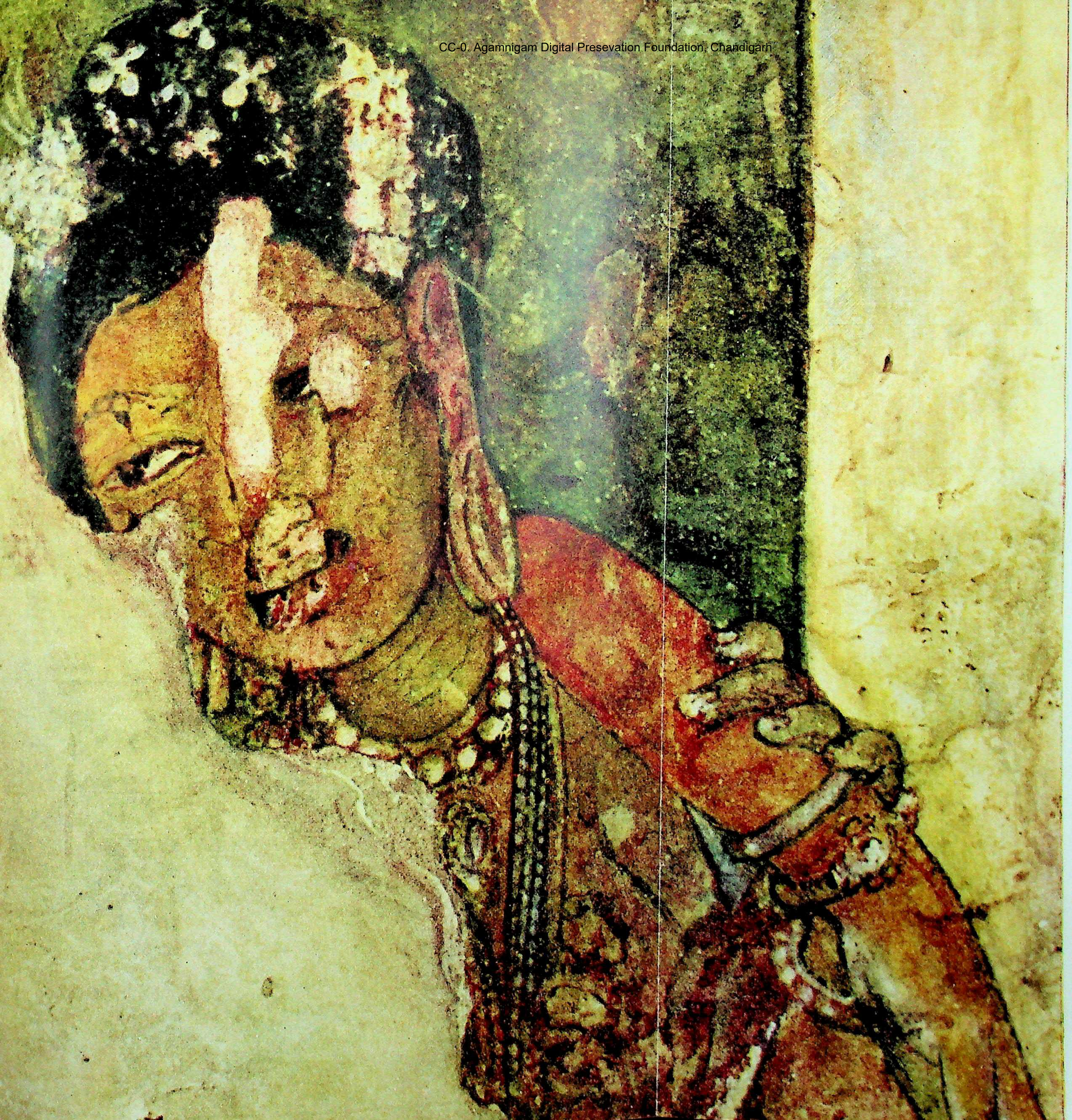

Frontispiece

Kaṇṭhāślesha,
Vākāṭaka,
5th century A.D.,
Ajaṇṭā.

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To

Dr. Mrs. Grace L. McCann Morley

With affection and esteem

FOREWORD

It is with great pleasure that I write this short Foreword to this excellent work of Dr. C. Sivaramamurti, one of our foremost living Indologists. I first became acquainted with him, when I read his interesting articles illustrated with beautiful sketches in the *Journal of Oriental Research,* Madras, nearly four decades ago. His delightful little book *Sculpture inspired by Kālidāsa* brought him great renown as an appreciative critic of Sanskrit literature and ancient Indian art. Since then he has published several works on ancient Indian art in its various aspects.

In the present work Dr. Sivaramamurti has dealt exhaustively with six main sources of our knowledge of ancient Indian history, viz., sculpture, painting, architecture, coins, epigraphy and manuscripts. The Indians made history, but did not write any. The only exception is the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa. So our present knowledge of that history is derived mainly from the aforementioned six sources which have been studied patiently by scholars, Indian and foreign, during the last two centuries. Dr. Sivaramamurti has not, however, only summarised the results of other scholars' investigations. He has himself dived deep into every subject and opened up new vistas of knowledge. His profound knowledge of Sanskrit has enabled him to point out the hidden significance of several signs and expressions, of which we had not even dreamt before. His work is of special interest to Sanskritists like me; for it is full of apt quotations from several works of Classical Sanskrit literature which throw a flood of light on the significance of art motifs.

This excellent work is fittingly being published in the Bhagvanlal Indraji Edowment Lectures Series. Pandit Bhagvanlal was a pioneer in the study of ancient Indian history. His work was highly praised by renowned scholars like Bühler and Rapson, and brought him recognition from a German University. Dr. Sivaramamurti is ably carrying on the torch of Indological research which he lighted.

I heartily recommend this work to all students of ancient Indian history.

V.V. MIRASHI

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

The University of Bombay invited me to deliver the Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji Endowment Lectures in August, 1974. I considered it a rare good fortune to associate myself with the name of so distinguished a pioneer in Indology. But, with the work in the Museum occupying my attention fully, I had to put off preparing the talks for quite some time. It was only towards the middle of 1975, I could commence this and got ready the material choosing my subject appropriately with all the deference due to so preeminent a scholar in the field of historical research, but with my usual predilection for the stress on the value of literature to shed light in understanding the historical sources themselves.

I am glad I could deliver the lectures in the last week of August, 1975 enlivening them by lantern slides illustrating several points and themes I had in mind. I offer my best thanks to the authorities of the University of Bombay both for the interest evinced in these talks and for the permission granted by them for their publication as a book with appropriate illustrations as accompanying plates. Nothing can give me greater joy than to see it in the hands of scholars, who, like the proverbial *haṁsa* can readily enjoy whatever good may be in it. My thanks are due to the Archaeological Survey of India, the National Museum, the Mathura Museum, the Madras Museum, the Chandigarh Museum and Art Gallery, the Bharat Kala Bhavan Museum, the Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar, the French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry, the Department of Archaeology of Madras State, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and the Bangalore Museum for illustrations accompanying this book.

I am overwhelmed by the kindness of Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. V.V. Mirashi who has graciously blessed me by decorating this book with his erudite Foreword which is an unfailing blessing that I treasure. How can I adequately express my gratitude to him? The blocks for the cover jacket in colour and the frontispiece were kindly provided by the Archaeological Survey of India to which my sincere thanks are offered. Mr. Shakti Malik has helped this book by his kind loan of some blocks of illustrations for which he has my best thanks. To Dr. M.K. Pal, who very kindly prepared the Index, I am most beholden. Mr. Jayant Baxi, the publisher and Mr. Jain of Navchetan Press (Pvt.) Ltd., the printer, have spared no pains to bring out the book attractively and speedily, and I have no words to thank them adequately.

New Delhi
21st March 1979

C. SIVARAMAMURTI

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CHAPTER ONE

SCULPTURE

History is built up by devoted study, is understood and elucidated by a proper recognition of the value of the sources. These sources are innumerable, but there are at least six main categories that contribute vastly to the elucidation of the problems of history. History is not necessarily from any one narration of events, however well recorded. Even a deliberate attempt at narration of the episodes of history may prove to be one-sided. Necessarily there should be a countercheck through the varieties of sources that eliminate obscure episodes, confirm known events, correct wrong identifications or concepts, brighten up unfocussed and blurred points, producing a clear vivid narration characterised by authenticity.

These historical sources in themselves to be properly understood require light from other angles as well. In the following pages it is hoped to show how literature illumines historical sources. Six main categories of historical sources have been taken for consideration with suitable examples. It would thus be possible to make it clear that history can be better understood and appreciated. By literature is not meant just purely historical narrations like the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* which are in themselves remarkable sources of history. But it is other general literary references that would be the main succour in the elucidation of the facts of history and their proper understanding.

The sources chosen are mainly sculpture, painting, architecture, coins, epigraphy and manuscripts.

Some typical examples according to date and provenance may here be taken to see how art illuminates literature and literature viceversa. Sculptures as a source of history are better understood through passages from literature that throw light on them.

There is a sculpture from Bhārhut (Fig. 1) representing a venerable sage discoursing on the highest *parā vidyā* to his disciples gathered around him, attentively listening to his teachings. Fortunately at Bhārhut almost every sculpture has a label in early Brāhmī script explaining its purport. Here the label says *dīgha tapasī sise anusāsati* meaning the *ṛishi* Dīrghatapas is discoursing to his disciples.

This sculpture is to be understood in the context of the early picture in the *Upanishads*, of the *āchārya* teaching his disciples. The word here used is also *anuśāsana* as in the *Taittirīyopanishad.* There is a special appraisal of the theme of *vidyā*; *athādhividyam, āchāryaḥ pūrvarūpam, antevāsyuttararūpam, vidyā sandhiḥ, pravachanam sandhānam, ityadhividyam, Taittirīyopanishad.* Again in the same *Upanishad* there is the picture of the teacher admonishing his students after the study is over, and here expressly the word *anuśāsti*, *satyam vada, dharmam chara* etc. Even in the label at Bhārhut the expression is *anusāsati.* This is the earliest example in sculpture answering the *Upanishadic* word-picture of the teacher surrounded by pupils. There is the *guru's uchchāraṇa* and the pupil's *anūchchāraṇa* or the repeating of the master's utterance by the disciples to memorize the text. In ancient India all *vidyā* was gained by the ear and was so named *śruta. Veda* itself was *śruti* and the Vedic text was carefully recited with proper intonation, *sasvaro vedaḥ.* The *Veda* representing *parā-vidyā* was learnt to be repeated according to *svara.* This *adhyayana*, particularly the *āraṇyaka* portions, were in *tapovanas* penance groves, in hermitages close to rivers as described by Manu : *apām samīpe niyate naityikam vidhim āsthitaḥ sāvitrīm apyadhīyīta gatvāraṇyam samāhitaḥ* 2, 104.

There is a rare sculpture from Paṭṭaḍakal of the eighth century from the Mallikārjuna temple, a panel from a pillar, representing Yājñavalkya swiftly following keeping pace with Sūrya speeding in his chariot and learning the chant of the *Śukla Yajurveda* (Fig. 2). The story goes that he originally learnt the *Kṛishṇa Yajurveda*, and again the *Śukla Yajurveda* from Savitā having been made to give back the former to his *guru* by disgorging the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* of the *Kṛishṇa Yajurveda.* As it was not possible for a Vedic scholar to remain even a minute without the knowledge of the *Veda*, he had to follow the sun to repeat it all over again and that is how we have the *Śukla Yajurveda Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*. The sculpture is best understood in the light of this story of the birth of the *Śukla Yajurveda*.

There is another important sculpture of the pre-Kushāṇa period, about the lst century B.C., from Mathurā, representing a *guru*, a typical Brāhmaṇa with a *chhattra* or umbrella in his hand talking to an assembly of his disciples (Fig. 3). Here it is a little more sophisticated than in the Bhārhut sculpture and should represent a somewhat later concept of the *guru-śishya* ensemble. The former has reference to *adhyayana* in forests in the neighbourhood of hermitages with stress on the *Āraṇyaka* portions and this latter undoubtedly has a stress on *Śāstrapāṭha*.

There is a sculpture of Agni of the Gurjara Pratīhāra period, now in the Cleveland Museum, which in its elaborate description of the life of a *brahmachārin* as the worshipper of fire gives a thorough picture of the early life of a student in ancient India of which we have a reference in the *Manusmṛiti* (Fig. 4). The central figure is Agni with the flames all around suggesting the luminous form of fire, though in anthropomorphic shape, with the ram, his vehicle, close to him. The life of a *brahmachārin* is clearly represented here, seated on a seat lower than that of his master, with his hands respectfully crossed and holding his palms in *brahmāñjali*. This is as given in the *Manusmṛiti*. The boy is very slightly dressed and has full control over his senses. His dress is simple and his heart pure—*nīcham śayyāsanam chāsya sarvadā gurusannidhau brahmāñjalikṛito'-dhyāpyo laghuvāsā jitendriyaḥ* (2, 198), and the hands in *añjali* are to receive particles of saliva that spurt as he repeats the Vedic *mantras* in proper tone exactly as the master pronounces. These light spray particles of saliva as the Vedic *mantras* are pronounced are so holy that they have to be held in the *añjali* and are styled by Manu *viprusho brahmabindavaḥ*.

The *brahmachārin* tends the fire with *āhuti*. As he bows and repeats his *pravara*, lineage, with the *palms* placed on his ears, he concludes it by touching the feet of the *guru* with his hands crossed, so that the right hand could touch the right foot and the left hand the left foot of the preceptor, which is the proper mode of *namaskāra*, and the repeating of the *pravara* is to make known his identity. This salutation depicted in sculpture cannot be understood in its full significance without bringing to our mind the verses from the *Manusmṛiti* : *brahmārambhe'vasāne cha pādau grāhyau guros sadā, samhatya hastāvadhyeyam sa vai brahmāñjalis smṛitaḥ, vyatyastapāṇinā kāryam upasaṅgrahaṇam guroḥ, savyena savyaḥ sprashṭavyo dakshiṇena cha dakshiṇaḥ*, 2, 71-72.

The crossing of the hands is known as *hastasvastika*. The simple dress, the low seat and austere life are all the preliminaries to the ritual which included *ājyahoma* or offering of ghee in the fire which normally in the case of the *brahmachārins* was an offering of *samidhas* or twigs. This is also depicted in the sculpture where the *brahmachārin* is shown with the *ājyapātra* pouring ghee in the fire, in doing the *pūrṇāhuti* : *sapta te agne samidhas saptajihvās saptaṛishayas sapta dhāma priyāṇi saptahotrās saptadhātvā yajanti saptayonīr apṛiṇasva ghṛitena svāhā*. The tending of the fire, procuring of food as alms and attendance on the *guru* are prescribed duties of *brahmachārins*: *dūrād ahṛitya snmidhas sannidadhyād vihāyasi, sāyam prātas cha juhuyāt tābhir agnim atandritaḥ* 2, 168. *agnīndhanam bhaikshacharyam adhaśśayyām guror hitam, āsamāvartanāt kuryāt kṛitopanayano dvijaḳ* 2, 108.

This sculpture probably is the only one of its kind to give us a glimpse of the life of the *brahmachārin* during his study period and it is best illuminated through a reference to the mode of his life in the *Manusmṛiti* as well as from the *upākhyānas* like that of Dhaumya in the *Mahābhārata* where Upamanyu acts as the ideal student.

A sculpture from Mahābalipuram (Fig. 5) that is important in illustrating a major theme like Arjuna's penance and Kirātamūrti blessing him with the Pāśupata weapon has, apart from the main theme of the story, a special lesson to convey. In this the *anushṭhānas* of *ṛishis* and *ṛishikumāras* on the banks of the rivers, a theme well explained in literature is here graphically portrayed in sculpture. The *Kumārasambhava* has a long passage describing the significance of the holy atmosphere of the stream on the banks of which the *ṛishis* and *ṛishikumāras* are performing their daily abulutions. Here is stressed *āloka*, *avagāha* and *āchamana* a look at the river, the purifying dip in the stream, and a sip of its sacred water, which itself sanctifies. The celestials fluttering above are the Devas, Kinnaras, Vidyādharas, all approaching Gaṅgā from either side. The stream is to be imagined in the cleft between the two large boulders where the suggestion is through *nāgas* and *nāginīs* that are always associated with water. The netherworld where also Gaṅgā flows, is suggested by the huge elephants of the quarters, *diggajas*. The *nāgas* that are also denizens of the netherworld do not suggest this sphere as there are the *diggajas* for it, and a repetition in suggestion is a blemish. Their aquatic association however, suggests the stream of Gaṅgā along the cleft.

The *ṛishis* engaged in meditation on the banks of Gaṅgā, some in *brahmāsana* in *brahmadhyāna* and *yogamudrā* create the atmosphere of *japa* and *tapas* facing the sun. A *munikumāra* is performing *sūryopasthāna* after his *sandhyā*, with his fingers interlocked in *yamapāśamudrā* to look at the sun through the aperture so formed, to pray of Sūrya that he may live long, see pleasant things, hear sweet utterances, live in joy for a hundred autumns with speech unimpaired and senses in full vigour. The bath preceding the *sandhyā* is indicated by another *munikumāra* wringing water from his garment neatly washed, as yet another carries a vessel filled with water suggesting *bali* and *pūjā* in the ritual of which flowers and *akshatas* are strewn about. The verses in the *Kumārasambhava* significantly, closely answer this picture: *tribhis srotobhir aśrāntam punānā bhuvanatrayam* 10, 31. *śubhrair abhraṁkashair ūrmiśatais svarganivāsinām, kathayantīm ivālokāvagāhāchamanādikam, susnātānām munīndrāṇām balikarmochitairalam, bahiḥ pushpotkaraiḥ kīrṇatīrām dūrvākshatānvitaiḥ, brahmadhyānaparair yogaparabrahmāsanasthitaiḥ. yoganidrāgatair yogapaṭṭabandhair upāsitām, pādāṅgusṭhāgrabhūmisthais sūryasambaddhadṛishṭibhiḥ, brahmarshibhiḥ param brahma gṛiṇadbhir upasevitām* 10, 44-47.

Here is clearly seen that the time is midday; that the *munikumāras* are performing *sandhyā*, one of them praying to the deities in the four directions after *sūryopasthāna*. The *anushṭhāna* here is what is laid down in the *Manusmṛiti* and the *dharmaśāstras* and as life itself was observed on the banks of any river in his own region by the sculptor of Narasiṁhavarman's time in about the middle of the seventh century.

There were four great kings, contemporaries of Buddha, Ajātaśatru, Udayana, Pradyota and Prasenajit. We know from history that Jīvaka was the half brother of Ajātaśatru, also born of Bimbisāra, and educated at Takshaśilā to be the greatest physician India has ever known. He was not only a physician but also a great surgeon and there are many stories of his skill in both the spheres of medical knowledge. A Bhārhut sculpture with a label explaining the event describes the visit of Ajātaśatru to Buddha in the Veṇuvana at Rājagṛiha (Fig. 6).

It is interesting that at Amarāvatī, the sculptor has chosen to represent along with this same scene, another of Ajātaśatru consulting his courtiers including Jīvaka as to whom he should visit on a full moon day (Fig. 7). At the suggestion of Jīvaka he visited Buddha. In this sculpture Jīvaka is shown suggesting to Ajātaśatru that he should visit the master in the Veṇuvana.

At Bhārhut again is another labelled panel illustrating Prasenajit's visit of Buddha (Fig. 8). Prasenajit, as we know from history, was a great devotee of Buddha and was among the many that came to meet him when he set foot on earth at Śankāśya after preaching to his mother in heaven; and the event is often represented in sculpture by a triple jewelled ladder for Buddha flanked by Śakra and Mahābrahmā. The interesting thing at Bhārhut is that both these scenes are labelled, and mention by name these two great kings, contemporaries of Buddha, and their visit to the Master.

There is a sculpture from Amarāvatī which shows Udayana in anger trying to shoot Sāmāvatī, one of his queens, who was greatly devoted to Buddha, and Māgandiyā, another queen, who was so very wicked as to misrepresent Sāmāvatī to Udayana to rouse him to anger against her co-wife. The carved panel illustrates Udayana's proverbial love for the *viṇā* which is indicated on a couch close by. It is this *vīṇā* that forms the pivot, on which the entire episode of Udayana trying to shoot Sāmāvatī, where he failed because of the very goodness of Sāmāvatī, rests. It should be remembered that Udayana was a contemporary of Buddha. The sculpture illustrates an important incident in his life.

There is another, a famous terracotta from Kauśāmbī, (Fig. 9), an example of which is preserved both in the National Museum and the Allāhābād Museum, illustrating the age-old story of the loves of Udayana and Vāsavadattā, how Udayana eloped with Vāsavadattā to his kingdom, escaping from captivity in Ujjain, and how he evaded even the soldiers sent after him by Pradyota to catch up the speeding elephant on which the Prince and Princess rode. Kālidāsa not without reason describes the old villagers of the neighbourhood of Ujjain as fond of these stories and as often recounting them, *udayanakathā-kovidagrāmavṛiddhān* and goes further into the story of how Udayana carried away Vāsavadattā; *pradyotasya priyaduhitaram vatsarājo'tra jahre*, *Meghadūta* 1, 34.

It is interesting that the same theme of Udayana escaping with Vāsavadattā on the swiftest elephant of Ujjain is narrated in a long frieze in one of the caves at Udayagiri in Orissa of the time of the famous emperor Khāravela. In the 2nd century B.C. this story was as popular in Orissa as in the Gangetic doab, as proved by this frieze and the Śuṅga terracotta from Kauśāmbī, also of the same date. Kālidāsa's reference to its popularity is all the more strengthened by the numerous early dramas based on the story of Udayana and Vāsavadattā right from the time of Bhāsa, one of the earliest poets, like *Svapnavāsavadatta*, *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa*, *Viṇāvāsavadatta*, *Ratnāvalī*, *Priyadarśikā*, *Udayanacharita* and so forth.

In the Allāhābād pillar inscription, Samudragupta is described as a *dharmavijayī*, who overcame kings and reestablished them with added glory and royal prosperity. Here was always an element of chivalry and magnanimity of a superior order that evoked such a phase of elevated human character. Kauṭilya recognises these modes of warfare as he defines them, though recommending *kūṭayuddhya* and *tushṇīmyuddha* as the circumstances require their use, though *prakāśayuddha* is *dharmishṭha*. He thus speaks of three types of victors *dharmavijayī*, *lobhavijayī* and *asuravijayī*, the first satisfied with his military glory, the next with material gain and the third with worse than gain, even the life and harem of the defeated opponent.

The exhortation voiced by Kauṭilya *yām yajñasanghais tapasā cha viprās svargaishiṇaḥ pātrachayaiścha yānti, kshaṇena tān apyatiyānti śūrāḥ prāṇān suyuddeshu parityajantaḥ*, *Arthaśāstra* 10, 3, 30. It is this heroic pride that provided enthusiasm for a faith in noble ideals of righteous warfare or *dharmayuddha*, in which a charioteer fights only a charioteer, a cavalier only another horseman, an elephant-rider a similar opponent and a footsoldier his equal. The wonderful carving, unfortunately mutilated, belonging to the rail period at Amarāvatī of about 150 A.D., a magnificent creation of the Sātavāhana sculptor, illustrates meticulously this ideal of righteous warfare in ancient India (Fig. 10). India cannot be sufficiently proud of these great warriors' ideals. This coping piece from Amarāvatī rail shows a charioteer fighting another charioteer, a cavalier a horseman, the foot soldier another of his rank and the elephant-rider a similar warrior; and this orderliness in the disorder of the battle-field makes the scene all the more telling, interesting and appealing. The sculpture is best understood from a telling verse of Kālidāsa describing a righteous battle: *pattiḥ padātim rathinam ratheśas turaṅgasādī turagādhirūḍham, yantā gajasyābhyapatad gajastham tulyapratidvandvi babhūva yuddham*, *Raghuvamśa* 7, 37.

Inscriptions which record the glory of kings and emperors who were mostly engaged in such conflicts, not for territory so much as for glory, are in the same spirit of *dharmavijaya*. There is a telling description of righteous warfare in a passage from the Kūram grant of the Pallava King Parameśvaravarman which is perhaps the most graphic narration of the theme : *agaṇitanarahayakarikulavimarddajanitena reṇutuhinena, āropitaśaśimaṇḍalasādṛiśyasahasrakarabimbe, paṭaharavagarjitogre vikośanistrimśavidyudābhoge, pracharitakuñjarajalade vikālavarshāvatāra iva, tuṅgaturaṅgataraṅge pracharatkarimakarajanitavishamāvarte, aviralam udīrṇaśaṅkhe vijṛimbhamāṇe samudra iva, anyonyasadṛiśagaṇanāparibhavaniryātanā…, mṛigamadamiśritaśoṇitakuṅkumaghanalipyamānabhūmitale, anyonyajayaparājayasandehapreṅkhalagnalakshmīvihite, śastrodyatabhujadaṇḍaiḥ sārambhavilohitākshadashṭoshṭhapuṭaiḥ, rudhiramadhupānamattapragītakūshmāṇḍarākshasapiśāche, dattalayatulyakālapratibhayanīnṛityatkabandhaśatruyonau*, *South Indian Inscriptions* 1, p. 148.

An interesting medallion (Fig. 11) commemorates the fight between Alexander and Poros (Purushottama). This appears to have been issued, probably either by Alexander, in appreciation of the valiant fight of Poros, whom he treated like a king even after vanquishing him, or more likely by any of his successors like Megasthenes to commemorate the event. An example of this is in the Indian Museum. It shows Poros seated on an elephant and fighting Alexander who is on horseback. It may be wondered why a king like Poros fought a differently equipped opponent, as a horseman usually engaged a horseman and a warrior on elephant another equally matched. But the Greeks were unaccustomed to elephants and they were the agressors. Indian kings were usually bowmen fighting from the height of an elephant. So this was unavoidable and inevitable. The Indian mode of the king fighting from his position on the elephant and sometimes giving up life fighting from on the back of the animal is specifically mentioned in Choḷa inscriptions, that carefully record whether the king died on an elephant, *yānaimeltuñjina devar*, or peacefully in the gold-decked chamber of his palace, *ponmāligaiyiltuñjinadevar*. In the *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*, Bilhaṇa gives a picture of the Chāḷukyan king Vikramāditya covering the faces of his foes with arrows as if shooting at a target in the practice of archery from his position of vantage on his victorious elephant: *atrāntare narapatir jayakuñjarasya jyānādanishṭhuram adhishṭhitapṛishṭhapīṭhaḥ, śikshāśaravyavad arātichamūbhaṭānām nārāchapaṅktibhir apūrayad ānanāni*, *Vikramāṅkadevacharita* 17, 65. For the Indian warrior, especially the king or the commander-in-chief, this elevated position, whence his soldiers could watch his fighting valiantly and emulate him, was considered the best. Even in the battle of Talikoṭa, it was Rāmarāya on the elephant that inspired the soldiers, and when he dismounted to ride a horse and distribute gold among his soldiers in appreciation of their valour, the mistaken idea that he was slain, as he was no more seen above on elephant-back, completely dispirited and demoralized the army that was on the point of victory and routing the enemy hosts, so that the tables were turned against them. For the Greek, horsemanship was the most welcome. Even in the mosaic illustrating Darius fighting Alexander, the Greeks are horsemen or footsoldiers.

An excellent example of a sculpture deciding the date of an early Sanskrit drama is a Kushāṇa piece from Mathurā with carving on both sides in the National Museum. Its importance is in the fact that it represents the first act of the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* by Śūdraka. It is composed of two panels carved back to back. On one side, there is a courtesan, drunk and reeling, almost fallen on the ground (Fig. 12). She is still plied with wine by a young damsel holding a goblet of liquor. The tender age of the girl is suggested not only by the yet undeveloped breasts on the bosom, but her sex itself is indicated by the anklets on her feet and her hair-do. A rich youth lured by the *Veśavāsa*, the courtesan's household, is helping her to get up. There is also an old woman to the left, the kuṭṭinī, the wily old mother of the courtesan, who, though bereft of her beauty has yet her wiles in abundance. She is significantly rubbing her cheek with a finger, which suggests her application of a pomade in a vain bid to restore her lost beauty. The whole scene is laid in a garden of *raktāśoka*. The word *rāga* in *raktāśoka* suggests passion. The theme of the courtesan is very significantly portrayed as this entire panel is just to indicate that on the back is given the story of a courtesan.

Here it is Vasantasenā, the most beautiful courtesan of Ujjayinī, who is running away from Śakāra, the villain who is a great fool, glorying in his only merit, as he imagines, for desiring all the good things in the world, being the brother of the king's wife, *rāshṭrīyaḥ śyālaḥ*. Śakāra, infatuated, pursues Vasantasenā at dusk, even when darkness blinds his vision (Fig. 13). The courtesan, however, is not the normal type, who is common to all, as the Viṭa puts it, but is as much a model of virtue as she is peerless in beauty. She loves Chārudatta, a princely merchant, who had from the heights of opulence, descended to the depths of penury by his generosity, and his beauty and character are enough to attract her. That she is very rich and surrounded by maids is suggested by a maid following her, with an umbrella in her hand, indicative of her position and rank in the city. We know from the drama that Vasantasenā dwelt in a vast mansion surrounded by seven courts. She calls her maids to her aid 'Pallavike ! Parabhṛitike !'. The fool Śakāra at once feels nervous, as his guilty mind is of a coward, apprehending men about and a sound thrashing at their hands for the wicked act of pursuing Vasantasenā. He tries to hide himself behind the gallant Viṭa, who reassures him, upbraiding him for his cowardice, and explaining to him that Vasantasenā is only calling her maids. The sculpture shows the cowardly Śakāra crouching with fear and hiding behind the Viṭa. He now emerges brave in the thought that he could kill a hundred women if need be, and thereby proclaim himself hero : *strīṇām śatam mārayāmi, śuroham.*

Now the Viṭa feels for poor Vasantasenā and asks her to remove the jingling anklets on her feet and the flower garland on her braid, rich in perfume, both of which betray her and her track, though she is moving in the dark : *tvām sūchayishyati tu mālyasamudbhavoyam gandhaścha bhīru mukharāṇi cha nūpurāṇi, Mṛichchhakaṭika.*

The advice of Viṭa is carefully followed by Vasantasenā. The sculptor has not slavishly followed the text, where the garland as well as the anklets are thrown away, but has significantly depicted her, covering her braid with her upper garment as a veil, and the anklets pulled up, so that it is just indicated that the jingling is stopped and the perfume mitigated. The presence of the maid with the anklet in position shows the difference on the legs of Vasantasenā where the anklets are raised. This is a very significant and suggestive representation of a striking scene from one of the earliest dramas in Sanskrit. The sculpture itself being of the first century establishes the earlier date of the drama.

Not far removed in date from the one now discussed is a sculpture from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Fig. 14) which also confirms the early date of the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, apart from revealing a suggestive import intended to be conveyed by the sculptor. There is a passage in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* where the Vidūshaka remarks that no other vessels on the ocean need be enquired of a *veśavāsa* (courtesan's mansion) like that of Vasantasenā, as the *stana* (breasts) and *nitamba* (hips) are *yānas* (sailing vessels) : *kim tatra pṛichhyate, yushmākam khalu premanirmalajale madansamudre stananitambajaghanānyeva yānapātrāṇi manoharāṇi* (*Mṛichchhakaṭika* 4) ; 'why ask this ! your breasts, waist and hips are indeed alluring vessels on the pellucid water of affection in the ocean of love.'

This sculpture from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is of the end of the second century A.D., of the time of the Ikshvākus. It gives this pleasant picture of the flowing stream of *śṛiṅgāra, madanarasamahaugha* as

Māgha puts it, and actually the damsels are shown swimming in the stream of love, and suggestively enough, the sense of Māgha is anticipated as it were, and both the *hamsaka*, *raśanā*, the resounding jewel par excellence, and the swan are shown specially and pointedly for conveying this sense suggestively ; and the remark of the Vidūshaka in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* is more than effectively illustrated by the position of the swimming damsel whose *stana* and *jaghana* are shown shaped exactly like the *yānapātra* gliding on a stream.

The Kushāṇa sculpture earlier discussed along with this Ikshvāku panel clearly points to not only the popularity of the theme and its early date, but also to the fact that the sculptor, as we know from other instances, was very accomplished and well read in literature.

Another example of a sculpture helps revealing the lower limit of the age of a well-known but unascribed Sanskrit verse occurring as a quotation in the *Kuyalayānanda*, a book on rhetoric by Appayya Dīkshita. This is a verse that occurs in other anthologies as well, though the poet who composed it or its date itself is not clear. Fortunately a Kushāṇa sculpture of the beginning of the first century A.D., clearly portraying in successive panels the several half lines composing the verse in correct sequence, places the date of the composition of the verse in the first century B.C. at the latest. This sculpture is thus an important historical landmark.

It is an early pillar from Lālā Bhagat that has its entire length carved into an interesting narration (Fig. 15). It illustrates *padminī* and her bloom in the morning when awakened by the sun, graphically portrayed as riding his chariot accompanied by two attendants holding a parasol and flywhisk. As usual in very early sculpture, four horses are yoked to the chariot, beneath which a demoniac head suggests darkness dispelled. Three damsels, Ushā, Pratyushā and Chhāyā precede the chariot. The number of dwarfish figures ahead of these solar queens are the Vālakhilyas who lead the chariot of the sun as described by Kālidāsa, *virarājā rathaprashṭhair vālakhilyair ivāmśumān, Raghuvamśa* 15, 10.

The first line of the verse is an announcement of the imminent

રાત્રિર્ગમિષ્યતિ ભવિષ્યતિ સુપ્રભાતમ્, ભાસ્વાનુદિષ્યતિ હસિષ્યતિ પંકજશ્રીઃ
ઇત્થં વિચિંતયતિ કોશગતે દ્વિરેફે હા હન્ત હન્ત નલિનીં ગજ ઉજ્જહાર ૫

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departure of night and the augury of dawn and sunrise *rātrir gamishyati bhavishyati suprabhātam*. Here in the sculpture, two swans, soaring above carrying a drum held by the terminals of a pole, suggest the announcement of day-break (Fig. 16).

The next line is *bhāsvān udeshyati*, the sun will rise, which has been pictured very liberally in the composition of the sun in his chariot preceded by his queens and the Vālakhilya sages.

Beneath it is the dance of the peacock with his spread tail in gorgeous colour suggesting the joy and brightening up of the horizon spelt in the line *hasishyati chakravālam*. While the horizon is suggested by the arched outline of the spread peacock's tail, the other reading *hasishyati paṅkajaśrīḥ*, the beauty of the lotus will bloom, is depicted in the blooming lotus-laden pool.

Thus imagines the bee as it lies lotus-cradled awaiting dawn for its release to fly out. But the elephant beneath the dancing peacock that has entered the pool and is pulling up the lotuses suggesting the line *hā hanta hanta nalinīm gaja ujjahāra* conveys the tragedy of the unfulfilled hopes of the bee. Taken as a whole, the whole series of sculptures exactly connotes and acts as an effective commentary on the verse : *rātrir gamishyati bhavishyati suprabhātam, bhāsvān udeshyati hasishyati paṅkajaśrīḥ, evam vichintayati kośagate dvirephe, hā hanta hanta nalinīm gaja ujjahāra.*

Here are in succession the heralding of day-break by swans flying in the air, the rising sun in his chariot, the joy of the lady of the lotus suggested by the dance of the peacock significantly in great glee and the lady of the lotus herself down below and finally the elephant pulling up the lotus stalks completing the sense of the verse. Even the cock, shown on a pillar close to the lady of the lotus-pond, is a herald of dawn. This is one of the best representations personifying abstract thought like dawn or the charm of the lotus pool. The most important factor here is that this early sculpture of dawn of the first century A.D. settles the date of the composition of the verse and its poet, whoever he is, as the first century B.C. at the latest.

The Guptas were very proud of their connections with the

Lichchhavis, a powerful princely tribe. Kumāradevī, the queen of Chandragupta I, was from the Lichchhavi family. On the King and Queen type of gold coin of Chandragupta I, the king is shown along with his consort and the Lichchhavis are also mentioned by name in the legend. In the Allāhābād pillar inscription, Samudragupta calls himself the daughter's son of the Lichchhavis—*lichchhavidauhitrasya*. In this context it is interesting to see a peculiar carving in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, which is a sculptural version of the portrait of the King and Queen on the coin. This is a very significant historical sculpture (Fig. 17) which can be understood only with the help of the coin, the legends on it *Chadragupta, Kumāradevī* and *Lichchhavayaḥ*, as well as the epithet of Samudragupta in his inscription describing him as a descendent through his mother of the Lichchhavis.

The Vākāṭakas, a powerful dynasty in the Deccan, were responsible for the magnificent caves at Ajaṇṭā as clearly indicated in inscriptions like the one in cave XVI mentioning its dedication to the monks by Varāhadeva, the minister of the Vākāṭaka King Harisheṇa in the 5th century A.D., in addition to others in similar script in caves XXVI and XX. They had connections with the Guptas; princess Prabhāvatī, the daughter of Chandragupta II, was married to Pravarasena of the Vākāṭaka royal house. The Vākāṭakas were also quite conscious of certain other matrimonial relationships that they had. They prided themselves in the fact that one of the Queens was from the family of the Bhāraśivas, a family devoted to the worship of Śiva, indicated by their carrying a *Śivaliṅga* on their shoulder. The Choḷas like Rājarāja style themselves *Śivapādaśekhara*, 'with Śiva's feet on their head'.

Another sculpture, also in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, shows a princely figure with a Śivaliṅga placed on his shoulder (Fig. 18). To understand this the line describing the Bhāraśivas in the Vākāṭaka inscriptions is the aid: *atyantasvāmimahābhairavabhaktasya amsabhārasanniveśita śivalingodvahanaśivaparitushṭa samutpāditarājavamśānām parākramādhigatabhāgīrathyamalajalamūrdhābhishiktānām daśāśvamedhāvabhṛitasnānānām bhāraśivānām mahārājaśrībhavanāgadauhitrasya gautamīputrasya putrasya vākāṭakānām mahārājaśrī rudrasenasya sūnoḥ, C. Ins. ind.* in p. 236.

અત્યન્તસ્વામિમહાભૈરવ ભક્તસ્ય અંસભારસન્નિવેશિત શિવલિંગોદ્વહન
શિવપરિતુષ્ટ સમુત્પાદિત રાજવંશાનાં પરાક્રમાધિગત ભાગીરથ્યમલજલ-
મૂર્ધાભિષિક્તાનાં દશાશ્વમેધાવભૃતસ્નાનાનાં ભારશિવાનાં

Kashmir which has given India the famous historical work *Rājataraṅgiṇī* has unfortunately most of her great monuments in an utterly ruined state, as for instance, at Mārtāṇḍa and Avantipura. Fortunately in Avantipura, the 9th century temple of Avantisvāmi Vishṇu, with profusely carved figures and designs, has at least a few important carved panels saved from ruination. An important panel represents the king Avantivarman himself accompanied by his queen and other attendants proceeding towards the shrine as a devotee (Fig. 19). The King, as in the case of other medieval sovereigns in India, has prominent moustache and beard. He has the crown, wears the *antarīya* garment in *śatavallika* mode with a number of beautiful folds, has a golden *kaṭisūtra* a long *vanamālā* garland to perfume his track. Damodaragupta's description of the dress of this time in Kashmir in typical examples helps. Significantly the crown on his head, beautifully designed, is hectagonal in shape. The queen behind him is also richly dressed with her *uttarīya* over her head, almost as a veil. This is his portrait in sculpture. His connoisseurship, his building the Avantisvāmi temple and the Avantīśvara later, his patronage of great poets like Ratnākara and Ānandavardhana is a literary picture to supplement this: *kavir ānandavardhanaḥ prathām ratnākaras chāgāt samrājye'vantivarmaṇaḥ. . .avantisvāminam tathā prāgrājyādhigamāt kritī vidhāya prāptasāmrājyaś chakre' vantīśvaram tadā*, *Rājataraṅgiṇī* 5,34,45.

A sculpture of the 8th century A.D. from a Pallava shrine in Kāñchipuram, Airāvateśvara, popularly styled Eravaṇeśvara, shows Śaṅkara, the famous philosopher of the 8th century, as a boy in his teens, which is evident from the curls on his head with no corresponding beard on his chin (Fig. 20). His hands are clasped and the *daṇḍa* is held against the chest. He has a beautiful face and charming personality, is alluring like Buddha. Śaṅkara is seated beside Vyāsa, the great *ṛishi* who wrote the text of the *Brahmasūtras* eliucdated by the former in his *Bhāshya*. Vyāsa is in a niche to the right of Dakshiṇāmūrti, who is shown in the larger central niche, while in the niche to the left is the great Jaimini who wrote the *Mīmāmsāsūtras*.

The *Vedas* teach both the *karmakāṇḍa* and the *jñānakāṇḍa*. Jaimini and Vyāsa, the two *ṛishis* who expounded the *Purva*-and the *Uttaramīmāmsās*, flank the source of all knowledge, Dakshiṇāmūrti. It is also believed that Vyāsa is an incarnation of Vishṇu *dvibāhur* *aparo hariḥ* and Śaṅkara of Śiva—*Śaṅkaras śaṅkaras sākshāt*. It is Śiva as the youthful silent Teacher of the oldest sages under the Banian tree that took birth on earth as the great Bhagavatpāda—*muktvā maunam vaṭaviṭapino mulato nissarantī śambhor mūrtis charati bhuvane śaṅkarāchāryarūpā.*

This important sculpture giving the youthful form of Śaṅkara at once confirms how great he was, and started his dissemination of spiritual knowledge in the vast sub-continent of India very young, attracting disciples from distant countries away in the sea like Cambodia where an inscription of the 9th century in the reign of Indravarman I describes the venerable Śivasoma, preceptor of the royal house, as a disciple of Śaṅkara himself, having probably come to Kāñchīpuram very young to study at his feet. The wording of the inscription is significant: *yenādhītāni śāstrāṇi bhagavachchhaṅkarāhvayāt, niśśeshasūrimūrdhālimālālīḍhāṅghripaṅkajāt.*

This inscription along with a reference to the Pallavas in eulogy of Jayavarman I of the later half of the 7th century reveals that influences both cultural and aesthetic from the great capital of Narasiṁhavarman were kept up all along. People prided in their visit to and their study at the great University at Kāñchī as several centuries earlier at Takshaśilā. And fortunately Śaṅkara added to the glory of the *Ghaṭikā* or the University itself, which had a high repute; and his portrait, understood in the context of Śaṅkara's philosophic exposition and his life itself, is significant.

The study of South Indian History is visually illumined by a number of carved panels going all along the *pradakshiṇapatha* of the central shrine in the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāl temple at Kāñchīpuram, originally known as Parameśvaravinnagaram, which act as a sculptural commentary on the written texts gathered in Pallava inscriptions. There are many interesting scenes including the birth of the progenitor of the race of Pallava on a bed of tender leaves (*Pallava*) with the earliest panels showing the celestial ancestors like Vishṇu, Brahmā, from the former's navel lotus, Aṅgiras from Brahmā, Bharadvāja, Droṇa, Aśvatthāmā and so forth. There is here an interesting sculptural commentary on the performance of the Aśvamedha mentioned in the Hirahaḍagaḷḷi plates of Śivaskandavarman in the form of carved panels where in its appropriate context in the sculptural narration of the history of the Pallavas the performance of the Aśvamedha is depicted by showing the horse near the *yūpa* received and worshipped by the king on its safe return with the crown prince after establishing the power of the Pallavas in the different regions where the animal chose to move. Another panel illustrates the fight between the Pallavas and the Nāgas and how they overcame the Nāga king Dṛishṭivisha and established their supremacy. Yet another panel represents the scene that lays stress on the important part played by the *Ghaṭikā* or the University in the accession of Nandivarman at the request of the people headed by the *Mūlaprakṛitis* and the *Ghaṭikāryas* or the elders of the University (Fig. 21). This importance of the University is learnt from an early Kadamba inscription which graphically describes the expedition of the founder of the line, Mayuraśarman, for higher Vedic studies in that famous centre of learning : *evam āgate kadaṁbakule śrīmān babhūva dvijottamaḥ nāmato mayūraśarmmeti śrutaśīlaśauchādyalaṅkṛitaḥ, yaḥ prayāya pallavendrapurīm guruṇā samam vīraśarmmaṇā adhijigamishuḥ pravachanam nikhilam ghaṭikām viveśāśu tārkkukaḥ,* Epigraph. Ind. VIII p. 32.

No wonder the elders of the University were given probably such a great status.

In this series of scenes narrating the assumption of sovereignty of the Pallava dominions by Nandivarman Pallavamalla, there is a panel with a label explaining it as the episode where Hiraṇyavarman is told that the peculiarly shaped crown to be used for the coronation of his son and fashioned after an elephant's head is really a crown and not an elephant's scalp : *idu kaṭiriṇṛalavanru nun-maganuḍaya makuṭaṅgaḷivay enru Taraṇḍikoṇḍapośar Hiraṇyavarmman mahārājarkkuch-cholla, South Ind. Inscr.* p. 11.

To understand a crown like this there is the coin of the Bactrian ruler Demetrius with a similar crown shaped completely after an elephant's head with uplifted proboscis and tusks, who probably copied it from Alexander the Great, *South Ind. Inscr.* 12, Pallavas p. 11. This shows undoubtedly a borrowed motif for the shape of an Indian crown for which the reason sought, foreign origin of the Pallavas, may or may not be valid. The crown itself was originally unknown for early Indian kings. It was a bejewelled *ushṇīsha* or turban distinguished by royal elegance. This can be verified by its use in the earliest representations even for deities always associated later from the first century onwards with a crown like Śakra who is styled also *Kirīṭī*. Saṅkarshaṇa of Śuṅga date in the Lucknow Museum like Kārtikeya of early Kushāṇa date in the Mathurā Museum is also given the turban as headgear. Kālidāsa always associates the king with a royal turban and not a crown as in lines like *rajobhir mārutoddhūtair aspṛishṭālakaveshṭanau*, *Raghuvaṁśa* 1 and *tam araṇyasamāśrayonmukham śirasā veshṭanaśobhinā sutaḥ pitaram praṇipatya pādayor aparityāgaṃ ayāchatātmanaḥ*, *Raghuvaṁśa*, 8, 2. Since by the adoption of the crown there is no question of a foreign origin for any Indian deity or ruler, this crown may be a type adopted, but need not necessarily bring in the idea of foreign origin of the bearers that have just adopted it.

There are several scenes also illustrating graphic description of battle as in the Kūram inscription of Parmeśvaravarman in a pictorial glimpse of what happened over thirteen hundred years ago. The coronation itself (Fig. 22) of the several princes with the *vaikakshaka* or golden eross-belt prominent on the chest of each hero with his legs resting on the ground in *pralambapāda* attitude is interesting.

Midway between Sāmarlakoṭa and Rājamahendravaram is the village of Biccavolu which contains several important temples of the early Eastern Chāḷukya period. In the vicinity of the village there is a temple deserted and almost on the verge of decay. The doorway of this temple has a unique feature for South India, as it shows two river goddesses, Gaṅgā and Yamunā on either side, a feature that is absent in other temples of the period in this area (Fig. 23). This idea of Gaṅgā and Yamunā as guardians of the doorway which is very common in Gupta temples is known to have been brought along with the *Pālidhvaja* banner as symbols of sovereignty from the Yamunā-Gaṅgā doab by the Western Chāḷukya king Vikramāditya of Bādāmī through his son Vinayāditya who led a north Indian expedition and returned victorious. This was latter appreciated by the Rāshṭrakūṭas, the political successors of the early Western Chāḷukyas. As the Eastern Chāḷukyas were eternally at feud with the Rāshṭrakūṭas, and as Guṇaga Vijayāditya was a king of this dynasty, to whom, according to the inscriptions, even the Rāshṭrakuṭa king Vallabha paid homage, he was, as the inscription says, the lord of the entire Dakshiṇāpatha including Trikaliṅga and won the symbols of the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā and the banner *Pālidhvaja*, which symbols of sovereignty the Rāshṭrakūṭas had inherited from their political predecessors. This fact gathered from the Sātalūru grant of Guṇaga Vijayāditya is sculpturally borne out by this new introduction in this temple which may be assigned to the time of this king. Other factors also point to this date. For instance the Gaṇeśa images which occur on the tiers of the *vimāna* show a single pair of arms, a feature that can be observed not only in earlier carvings of Gaṇeśa in the Eastern and Western Chāḷukya territory but even also on the seal of Guṇaga Vijayāditya from Sātalūru. This seal is a beautiful work of art illustrating fine *makara* figures exactly like those from the *makaratoraṇa* over the niches in this and the other temples and also as they occur as decoration for the *kūḍus* of horse-shoe shape.

In the Bṛihadiśvara temple at Tañjāvūr one is struck by the beautiful window with exquisite figure carving as well as design of Noḷamba workmanship of the 9th century (Fig. 24) introduced in the 11th century monument as a clear addition. To understand this, Choḷa inscriptions of the period have to be studied; and the conquest by Rājarāja of Noḷambavāḍi, Taḍigappāḍi and other regions explains that this was brought as an exquisite artistic piece and as an art trophy and in appreciation of its worth specially introduced by dovetailing it in the construction of the great temple *maṇḍapa*.

Similarly of interest is a series of Noḷamba pillars (Fig. 25) with delicate carving in green basalt in a small temple known as Dakshiṇakailāsa, in Tiruvaiyār, just on one side of the main shrine, with an inscription of Rājendra of some length as also his seal legend *rājadrājanyamukuṭaśreṇiratneshu śāsanam etad rājendrachoḷasya parakesarivarmaṇaḥ.*

Among the great conquests of Rājarāja and Rājendra the triumph at Noḷambavāḍi, Raṭṭapādi and Taḍigappāḍi are mentioned in the inscriptions. This row comprising of fortyfour pillars supporting the cloister all around this temple suggests a fine commentary of a war trophy on the conquest of Noḷambavāḍi. One has only to turn his eyes to the carvings of the very lovely but very little known school of Noḷamba sculpture adorning the fine temples that lie utterly neglected in the now almost inaccessible hamlet of Hemāvati in the Anantapur district, where a Tamil inscription of Rājendra in the Canarese area acts as a second line of commentary. Rājendra, a connoisseur, no doubt wonderstruck by the beauty of workmanship and delicacy of carving of the Noḷamba school, took the inordinate trouble of bringing so many of these carved pillars to beautify temple constructions nearer his capital.

Some of these sculptures, just understood through a commentary as it were in the form of significant passages from inscriptions recording Rājendra's conquests, reveal more of themselves most charmingly. The style of the sculptures itself is rather more revealing than in any other and leads us to seek epigraphical evidence. As one enters the Nāgeśvarasvāmi temple in Kumbakoṇam, one cannot but be struck by a sculpture there, which is just so different from all the rest there in style, feeling and workmanship (Fig. 26). This Gaṇeśa is typical of the style in Orissa in the 9th-10th century A.D. It is in a special cell close to the central shrine. This has a real story to narrate on the Kaliṅga conquest of Rājendra.

When we look back into early days of the study of South Indian history, when scholars had more doubts than faith in the prowess of victors whose conquests are mentioned in inscriptions and would not readily grant victories even for the most famous conquerors like Rājarāja and Rājendra beyond a limited territory confined to the borders of present Tamiḻ Nādu or at best a portion of Āndhra Pradesh as a concession towards their conquest and would even suggest interpreting the expedition to the Gangetic area as a pious pilgrimage, overlooking the might of an emperor who could bring low even the Śailendra empire by his naval onslaught, *utthāna* and *vijigīsha* being the ideals of ancient kings whose conquests were for glory and establishment of their suzereign power, sculptural commentaries like this, proving war trophies brought by the aesthetically-minded victors, prove immensely valuable as evidence to be read with epigrahical passages as a corrective. This Gaṇapati was a war trophy brought by Rājendra a couple of centuries after it came into being. The significance of the conquest of the Eastern Gaṅga area being forgotten, the word Gaṅgā was interpreted centuries later, almost in modern times, by a ready-made legend recounting how Gaṅgā was brought into a well in the temple by this Gaṇeśa who was on that account called Gaṅga-Gaṇeśa. It is however a fact that it is a Gaṅga-Gaṇeśa but only because of the Eastern Gaṅga conquest by the Choḷas.

Another sculpture brought by Rājendra, again as a war trophy from Kalyāṇa the capital of the later Western Chāḷukyas, mainly through the efforts of Rājādhirāja, has a long and interesting story to narrate (Fig. 27). The sculpture itself is of Chāḷukyan workmanship. It is a very beautiful carving. The inscription on its pedestal which is in Choḷa Grantha characters confirms the conquest and says it was brought as a war trophy by Rājādhirāja, a title that the prince assumed after this victory : *svasti śrī uḍayār śrī vijayarājendradevar kalyāṇapuram erittu koḍuvanda tupārapālakar*, the door-keeper brought by Uḍaya Śrī Vijayarājendradeva after burning Kalyāṇapuram. The sculpture was for a long time in the Dārāsuram temple, whence it is now in the Tañjāvur Art Gallery. A look at this *dvārapālaka* and a comparison of this with *dvārapālakas* in the Bṛihadīśvara temple at Tañjāvur and Gaṅgaikoṇḍachoḷapuram would show at once how well the Choḷa monarch appreciated good work and exhorted his sculptors to better their own by giving them a spirit of valour and aggressive warriorhood and to improve the theme by modifying details to make them grander, nobler and terror-striking (Fig. 28). Victory was the key-note of both Rājarāja and Rājendra. Theirs was the grand style, their figures imposing.

Never were *dvārapālas* more colossal and never were they more fierce. The Choḷa line being powerful was unapproachable and the might of this aggressive power is obvious and almost eloquently delineated by the sculptor in the form of the monumental *dvārapālas* that breathe as it were in their fiery countenance, terrifying *tarjanī*, wonder striking *vismaya* hand, and reassuring protective *abhaya* palm, strange combination of royal aggression and protection, creating in the mind of the visitor a terror to approach but a final confidence, leading him on to enter the portals. Even the club of the *dvārapāla* is significant. A huge snake is shown swallowing a mighty elephant or disgorging it,

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while a lion trampled under foot by the *dvārapāla* is another foe from which the elephant has equally to escape (Fig. 29). This is the power of the lion and the power of a *nāga* meaning both the elephant and swallower of the elephant, the mighty snake, *nāga*. A beautiful but comparatively tame representation of the *dvārapāla* is the one brought from Kalyāṇa by the successful Choḷa from the defeated Chāḷukya, where a snake swallows just a rat and a cat close by pounces on another rat while a huge loathsome lizard appears on the club. This is an explanation or rather the Choḷa sculptor's artistic expression of the wars of the Choḷa and his triumphs over other powers resulting in his final overthrow of their power.

As one enters the *maṇḍapa* of the Bṛihadīśvara temple, one cannot fail to notice the huge and imposing princely figures standing in a row, warriors all of them. Similarly it cannot escape attention how the form of Śiva as a warrior, as Tripurāntaka or Kirāta, predominates, giving a martial atmosphere even to the sculptural embellishment in the temple by an emphasis on the heroic leaders of the huge army itself devoutly standing guard at the portals of the greatest of the celestial war-lords, Śiva. It is again a study of the inscriptions of Rājarāja that reveals how greatly he valued and loved his special heroic generals of the army who were responsible for the innumerable victories and whom he has immortalized as devotees of Śiva, joining him, their master, himself a great devotee, *śivapādaśekhara*, in a sculptural expression of thanksgiving and acting as a conmentary to this his attitude. Tripurāntaka in the *ālīḍha* pose seated or standing, chosen by the Choḷas as their ideal can pose no problem to understand its repetition, as the Choḷas were intent on conquest. Their glory was an ideal of military triumph like the Yaudheyas who chose Kārtikeya as their ideal in their pursuit of military glory. As a great victor Rājarāja made Śiva Tripurāntaka fighting from his chariot, the greatest and most magnificent theme for presentation in his unique series of paintings in the Bṛihadīśvara temple.

A portrait of Gaṇḍarāditya in the temple at Konerirājapuram, a tenth century memorial for this pious king, was caused to be made by his saintly wife Śembian-mā-devī (Fig. 30). This queen widowed early in life with a small baby in her arms, the future Uttamachoḷa, could think of no better purpose in life than engaging herself perpetually in the service of God by raising several glorious temples as his abode and could not but represent her husband who was both a saint as well as a warrior. Gaṇḍarāditya, a great warrior, who had in fact died on the battle-field, was equally great as a devotee and wrote the famous hymns of the *Tiruviśaippā*. Gaṇḍarāditya, whose greatest pleasure lay in his devotion to Śiva traditionally worshipped by his forefathers, is represented seated in worship close to the Śivaliṅga at Konerirājapuram. The inscription here makes this portrait

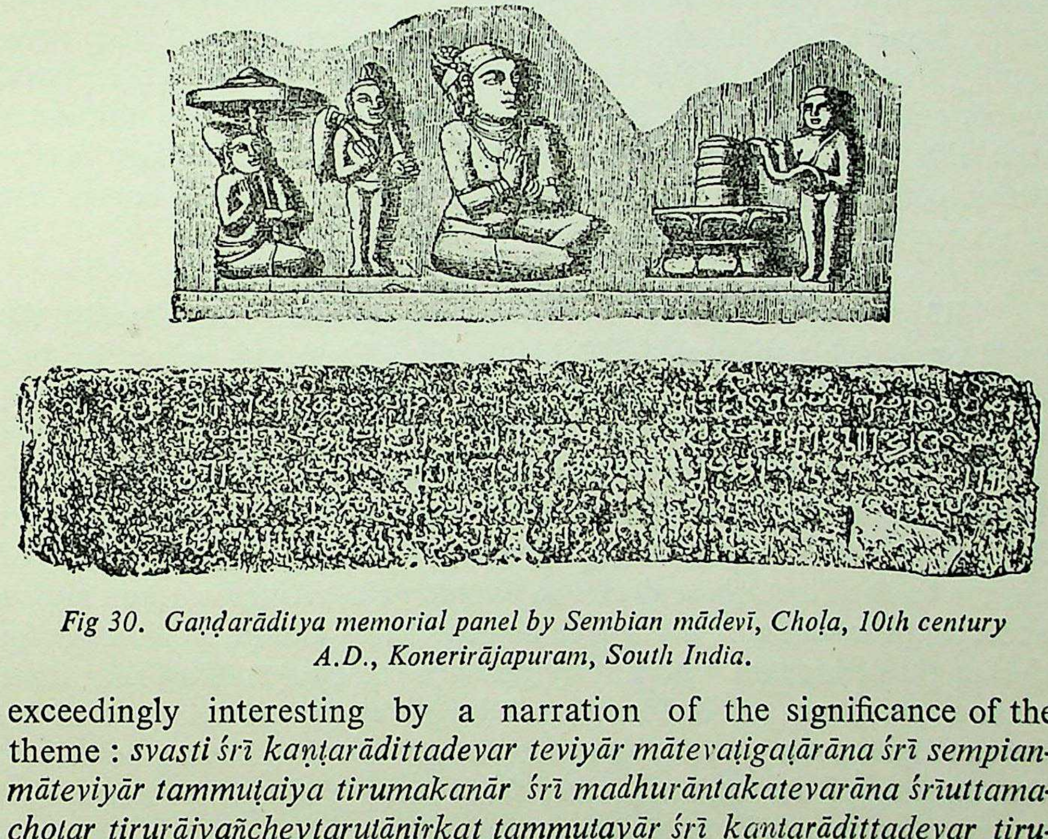

Fig 30. Gaṇḍarāditya memorial panel by Sembian mādevī, Choḷa, 10th century A.D., Konerirājapuram, South India.

exceedingly interesting by a narration of the significance of the theme : *svasti śrī kaṇṭarādittadevar teviyār mātevaḷigaḷārāna śrī sempianmāteviyār tammuṭaiya tirumakanār śrī madhurāntakatevarāna śrīuttamachoḷar tirurājyañcheytaruḷāniṟkat tammuṭayār śrī kaṇṭarādittadevar tirunāmattāl tirunallamuṭait tirukkaṟṟaḷi eḷuttaruḷuvittu ittirukkaṟṟaḷiyiley tirunallamuṭaiyārait tiruvaṭittoḷukinṟārāka eḷuttaruḷu śrīkaṇṭarādittadevar ivar*, Hail ! Prosperity ! Mādevaḍigalār alias the glorious Śembian Mādeviyār, queen of Gaṇḍarādityadeva, constructed in the sacred name of her husband (viz) the glorious Gaṇḍarādityadeva, a stone temple to the lord (i.e. the god) of Tirunallam (at the time) when her illustrious son, i.e. the glorious Madhurāntakadeva alias the glorious Uttama-choḷa, was graciously ruling. This is (the image) of the glorious Gaṇḍarādityadeva which was (caused to be) made in the sacred stone temple in the posture of worshipping the sacred feet of the lord (i.e. the god) of Tirunallam, *South Ind. Inscr.* 3, no. 146, p. 296.

It is not as if Rājarāja also has not represented himself similarly in adoration of his favourite deity. In fact in the series of paintings in the Bṛihadīśvara temple there is a large one depicting the Emperor along with his queens (Fig. 31), ministers and noblemen devotedly standing near the shrine of Naṭarāja in Chidaṁbaram who, as we know from Choḷa inscriptions, was a great favourite of the royal family, the golden hall for the dancing God having been gold-plated by his ancestors earlier. It is the literary flavour of this inscription that adds colour to the sculpture which in turn visually brings before the spectator the scene described in literary compositions, one acting as a complement to the other.

Rājendra, the powerful son of Rājarāja was undoubtedly the most remarkable ruler of the Choḷa family. Even as a prince he had distinguished himself and he began his career with a campaign of victorious expeditions to add to the large empire which his father had left for him. He reasserted his power in Ceylon, Chera and Pāṇḍya countries, Vanavāsi, overcame the Chāḷukya power under Jayasiṁha and brought Raṭṭapāḍi under his sway. Then he turned his eye to the North in a desire to overcome the kings of that region and bring the water of the sacred celestial river Gaṅgā to his land by the might of his arm and not by penance as Bhagīratha had done earlier. A glance at his Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates reveals to us that he does criticise even his own ancestor Bhagīratha for having obtained the stream of the heavenly river from Śiva through penance and supplication : *tapaḥprabhāvād avatīrṇagaṅgam bhagīratham bāhubalāddhasan saḥ gaṅgājalaiḥ pāvayitum svakīyām iyesha pṛithvīm ravivamśadīpaḥ*, that royal light of the solar race Rājendra laughed at Bhagīratha who had brought Gaṅgā on the earth by penance and decided to purify the land that was his region by the might of his arm. *South Ind. Inscr.* 3, p. 400.

The only tribute that Rājendra demanded from the defeated rulers of the Gangetic area was the water of the Ganges. Ganges water in large vessels on troops of elephants was brought all the way from the North to the South: *vijitais tadīyataṭabhūmiṇāyakais salilam tadīyam atha pāvanam param nijanāyakāya mathurāntakāya tat samanīnayat sapadi daṇḍanāyakaḥ, South Ind. Inscr* 3, p.400.

The discovery of a Gāhaḍavāla inscription in the temple of Śiva at Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram mentioning the Choḷa emperor as sovereign Lord makes this event significant. The inscription was caused to be incised in Grantha script which could easily be understood in this region.

The issuing of a special commemorative gold coin, with identical legend and design on the obverse and the reverse, to emphasise the importance of bringing Gaṅgā home, and the legend itself, *Gaṅgaikoṇḍachoḷaḥ* in Nagari script, speaks of the high esteem in which Gaṅgā was held (Fig. 32). Rājendra mentions the twelve mile long tank named Choḷagaṅgam that he dug in his capital and used for holding the water as a liquid pillar of victory, *gaṅgājalamayajayastambha: cholagaṅgam iti khyātyā prathitam nijamaṇḍale gaṅgājalamayam dhīro jayastambham vyadhatta saḥ, South Ind. Inscr.* 3, p.400. The joy of this event made Rājendra name even a feeding house *Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśoḷam* to illustrate how the emperor amused himself by defeating the kings of the Northern regions and bringing home the Ganges at the end of his war that simulated a festivity: *yuddhotsava vibhavattāl gaṅgāparigraham paṇṇiyaruḷina*, as the Ennāyiram inscription would have it (M.E.R. 333 of 1917). Surely this is thus one of the great historical episodes in which the glory of Gaṅgā and the victory of the Choḷa emperor has been brought out prominently.

The numerous *gaṅgarāmaṇḍapas* all over South India suggest only a corruption of the term *gaṅgaikoṇḍmaṇḍapa* where the pots filled with Ganges water were received temporarily at stages on their way to the Choḷa capital named after the great king who brought the Gaṅgā, *Gaṅgaikoṇḍa.* Rājendra by the issue of the special coin proclaimed to the world how he valued this triumph more than even his later overseas conquest.

Now to a sculpture that clearly corroborates his conquest of the Gangetic area. It is a great masterpiece of the metal craftsman from Bengal, the only one in metal of its kind, exquisitely fashioned, representing the form of multiarmed Śiva dancing on the bull and called Narteśvara, which Rājendra, struck by its elegance and special iconographic importance, brought as a war trophy (Fig. 33). The term Narteśvara itself by which it is known in Bengal is learnt from the inscription on the pedestal of a badly mutilated image of dancing Śiva from Barella now in the Dacca Museum in Bangladesh. It is also the term used for this form of Śiva in the *Vishṇudharmottara*: *nṛitteśvaratvam chāvāpa tushṭāva madhusūdanam, so'pi tushyati nṛittena samyag ārādhito haraḥ*, *Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 34, 23.

This multiarmed variety of Bengal follows the long description of dancing Śiva given in the *Matsyapurāṇa*. All the weapons and attributes, dress, ornaments, the mode of *jaṭā* and other details are given. He has ten hands, is elephant-hide clad and in *vaiśākha sthāna: vaiśākhasthānakam kṛitvā nṛityābhinayasamsṛitaḥ nṛityan daśabhujaḥ kāryo gajacharmadharas tathā*, *Matsyapurāṇa* 259, 12. The *Saduktikarṇāmṛita* has a verse attributed to Śrī Harsha that elucidates the significance of the dance of Śiva on the bull. Śiva, who is the mortal foe of Kāma and has the bull under him, by the very form that proclaims him penniless, but carries a crest-jewel of the nectar-rayed moon, has a message to offer to the world, almost in these words, 'avoid excessive attachment to worldly pleasures and a shower (*vṛisha*) of desires. Let not your mind crave for wealth, but seek and attain only the crescent lunar ray, which assures the fruit of immortality: *kāmam mā kāṁayadhvam vṛisham api cha bhṛiśam mādriyadhvam cha vitte chittam datta śrayadhvam paramamṛitaphalā yā kalā tāṁ ihaikām ittham devas smarārir vṛisham adharacharīkṛitya mūrtyaiva ditsan nissvo viśvopadeśam amṛitakarakalāśekharas trāyatām vaḥ* (*Saduktikarṇāmṛita* p. 7, 18). The sword prominent in one of the hands of this form of Śiva from Bengal is wonderfully explained in a verse in praise of Śiva in the Kasia stone inscription where he is described as cutting the knot of deep-rooted extensive ignorance with the sword of knowledge: *jñānāsivyastagāḍhāvṛtivitatatatamogranthi vidyotate cha* (*C. Inscr. Ind.* 4, p, 377). This is just another expression of the tearing of the veil of ignorance shown in Vākāṭaka sculptures of Śiva dancing as from Elephaṇṭā.

This image in metal brought by the Choḷa emperor, though the least known today, is nevertheless probably the best representation of Śiva dancing on the bull fashioned in Bengal. It is a war trophy brought home by a victor who had at once a keen eye for the aesthetic charm and iconographic speciality. It was brought and established in the temple of Amṛitaghaṭeśvara at Melakkaḍambur in Tañjāvur district, not very far from Chidaṁbaram. This image is now in worship.

Probably Rājendra did not want to disturb the importance and sanctity of the image at Chidaṁbaram, but at the same time he wanted a new type of dance form, famous in the North and equally fervently worshipped in Bengal, should be introduced for a comparative study and understanding in his own realm in the South, in as close vicinity of the temple of Naṭarāja at Chidaṁbaram as possible. Aesthetically this metal image is far superior to any image of this deity in stone yet found in Bengal. Śiva is sixteen-armed, dancing in *lalita* on the back of the bull which looks up ecstatically with head raised to watch his master at dance. The *ūrdhvaliṅga* of Śiva is clearly shown, the *jaṭāmakuṭa* is arranged in the fashion usual in medieval Bengal. There are several attendant figures on the pedestal like Bhairavas, Gaṇas and the lord of the Gaṇas, Gaṇapati, Skanda, Sarasvatī and Vidyādharas. The choice of this by Rājendra itself reveals his great artistic discernment. By a strange fate this happens to be a solitary image in metal of this deity from Bengal, and again by a chance it is in the South, not very far from the sacred spot of Naṭarāja himself, Chidaṁbaram. This war trophy, like the others brought by Rājendra, though probably still more significant, has a great commentary to offer on the authenticity of his conquest of the Gangetic region. Years ago, R.D. Banerji, judging from the Choḷa inscriptions, readily proclaimed the conquest and would not agree with many of the earlier historians who thought that the distance was too great for Rājendra to cover so far-flung an area in a victorious march. But surely with the great proof of his overseas conquests which were even mightier and which have been elucidated by Professor Coedes and Professor Nilakanta Sastri, this conquest in the sub-continent itself, however distant, should not have baffled acceptance.

There is yet another proof of Rājendra's conquest of this region, again in the form of a sculpture, which illustrates the

Emperor's great appreciation of effective expression in any form by a sculptor as by a poet from any part of the country. He would notice variations of artistic themes wherever they occur and accordingly invite his own master sculptors to introduce such themes with such modifications as would do credit to their own artistic genius, at the same time adapting or transforming a great idea of any earlier master from wherever it may have come. Elsewhere my revered Professor Mahāmahopādhyāya Kuppusvami Sastri has remarked that Ānandavardhana the great Indian rhetorician from Kashmir has clearly shown that an idea, theme or expression from any source taken by another master poet, transformed and woven into his own web of thought to give a charming new idea to the world, is a new contribution in itself and is in no way inferior to any and is to be counted as a creative work: *drishṭapūrvā api hyarthāḥ kāvye rasaparigrahāt sarve navā ivābhānti madhumāsa iva drumāḥ vāchaspatisahasrāṇām sahasrairapi yatnataḥ nibaddhāpi kshayaṃ naiti prakṛitir jagatām iva. Dhvanyāloka* 4, 4 and 9.

The Gāhaḍavālas being worshippers of Sūrya, the Northern form of Sūrya and the representation of Navagrahas no doubt attracted Rājendra's attention. He found that all the *grahas* were shown in a row (Fig. 34) and each with only a single pair of arms though in the south they were always made to face different directions, some of them like Soma, Aṅgāraka, Budha, Bṛihaspati and Śanaiśchara having four arms instead of two. Rājendra, no doubt, noticed that at a very much earlier stage, in the Gupta period, the *grahas* were represented even in the north facing different directions on the abacus of a bell-shaped capital of a pillar crowned by lions fashioned after the Sārnāth lion pillar type (Fig. 35). An example of this, now preserved in the Gwalior Museum, shows the twelve *rāśis* or the signs of the zodiac *mesha*, *vṛishabha* and so on running all around with the planets in between the *rāśis*. In another early medieval carving, also in the Gwalior Museum, there is a special emphasis on Sūrya as *graharāja* and shown both symbolically and anthropomorphically as a large blooming lotus and as the seated god of Light, in a niche on the side with the rest of the eight *grahas* in a row just above this figure of Sūrya but below the blooming lotus which fills the entire top space.

Rājendra was so appreciative of these two beautiful types that he encouraged his own sculptors to innovate a type combining both these elements (Fig. 36). The result is the *Navagraha* slab at Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram which shows Sūrya as a large blooming lotus at the top, the eight other *grahas* seated on the sides facing the eight directions and a row of seven horses facing east and just below one of the eight *grahas*, Sūrya not repeated in anthropomorphic form, the symbol itself sufficing to make the sculpture more effective, but with all the *grahas* provided with a single pair of arms as in their north Indian prototypes.

To understand this even better we have only to see another sculpture of the Kākatīya period now in the Hyderābād Museum (Fig. 37) which shows the innovation of Rājendra carried forward in its elaboration in trying to introduce the *rāśīs* or the zodiacal signs, as well. Sūrya as in Rājendra's new creation is a large lotus medallion on top with the twelve *rāśīs* all around it, the *dikpālas* on their respective vehicles facing the eight directions. The other *grahas* remain unrepresented to show that the sun as *adhipa* of all *grahas*, *nakshatragrahatārāṇām adhipo viśvabhāvanaḥ*, *Rāmāyaṇa* 6, 105, 15, himself represents them all in his large blooming lotus form enveloping all the directions to be faced by the planets. The seven galloping horses are however repeated here also as in Rājendra's *navagraha* slab. This is because of the close touch of the later Eastern Chāḷukyas with the Choḷas by matrimonial alliances, as the daughters, both of Rājarāja and Rājendra, were respectively given in marriage to Vimalāditya and Rājarājanarendra. Choḷa motifs appealed to the Eastern Chāḷukyas, and their successors, the Kākatīyas, continued the tradition.

But how arose the representation of a lotus to signify Sūrya ? This is indeed an interesting probe. The idea of a circular *āditya-maṇḍala* is Vedic: *adityo vā esha etan maṇḍalam tapati tatra tā ṛichas tad ṛichā maṇḍalam*. This, poetically put in *stotra* attributed to Yājñavalkya has its first verse describing the rising of the effulgent sun, the beloved of the lotus-laden pool, the ruby-set earring of the damsel of the eastern quarter, and red like the parrot's beak: *śukatuṇḍachchhavi savitus chaṇḍarucheḥ puṇḍarīkavanabandhoḥ maṇḍalam uditam vande kuṇḍalam ākhaṇḍaladiśāyāḥ*. The idea in the *Sāmba-pañchāśikā* of the solar disc appearing a lotus with the nectar in it tasted by the *Vedas* settling on its rim like swarms of bees goes beyond the concept of just a disc: *yasmin vedā madhuni saraghākāravad bhānti chāgre tachchaṇḍāmśor amitam amṛitam maṇḍalastham prapadye*. But it is the powerful imagery couched in poetic excellence by Mayūra viewing the blooming lotus in the solar disc that caught the fire of sculptural fancy. First he describes the orb of the sun as the lotus of the sky looking a ruby-set earring with filaments against the golden hill (Udayāchala) with the disappearing dark of the sky appearing a swarm of bees: *pratyuptas taptahemojjvalaruchir achalaḥ padmarāgena yena jyāyaḥ kiñjalkapuñjo yadalikulasiter ambarendīvarasya Sūryaśataka* 75. He again pictures the *Sūryamaṇḍala* as a full-fledged lotus in a more elaborate description: *udyaddyudyānavāpyām bahulatamatamaḥpaṅkapūram vidārya prodbhinnam patrapārśveshvaviralam aruṇachchhāyayā visphurantyā kalyāṇāni kriyād vaḥ kamalam iva mahāmaṇḍalam chaṇḍabhānor anvītam tṛiptihetor asakṛid alikulākāriṇā rāhunā yat*, rising from the pool of the pleasance of the sky, tearing asunder the thick mire of darkness, with all the while the red tinge sparkling on the tips of the opening petals, and followed often for his own satiation by Rāhu as by a row of black honey bees, may the large disc of the sun, like a lotus, shower on you all prosperity. *Sūryaśataka*, 79.

It cannot be forgotten that Mayūra's *Sūryaśataka* made a permanent impression on the minds of thinkers all over India, which accounts for a *Sūryamaṇḍapa*, probably with twelve pillars, now all lost except for a fragment of one, rescued from Kāñchīpuram and preserved in the Madras Museum with verses of the *Sūryaśataka* inscribed serially in early Choḷa Grantha characters of the tenth century. It is this powerful imagery that accounts for the representation of Sūrya as a *Kamalamaṇḍala*.

In a ritual for Sūrya worship, there is the direction to draw the solar orb as an eight-petalled lotus, with central seed vessel, to assign a petal for each form of Sūrya, starting from the east clockwise, to Sūrya, Ravi, Vivasvān, Bhaga, Aruṇa, Mitra, Āditya, Mārtāṇḍa, the central circle being for Bhāskara. The sanctity of the lotus form for Sūrya thus became so important that the sculptural version gained in popularity. In this ritual again Sūrya is conceived as himself representing all the other planets Soma, Aṅgāraka, Budha, Bṛihaspati, Śukra, Śanaiśchara and even Rāhu and Ketu.

Another illustration of Rājendra's appreciation of what he found was a new type, which he introduced in his own country, is indeed very interesting, and is again a comment on his successful victorious conquest in the Deccan and North India. One cannot but be struck by the presence of a solitary example of bearded Brahmā of the Pitāmaha type, the normal form in North India but so abnormal in South India, occuring in Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram in one of the niches of the main temple itself (Fig. 38). This was again a new experiment in South India. The idea of Pitāmaha so appealed to Rājendra that he could not allow the fourfaced Lord of the celestials being the youthful figure as he was normally depicted all over in the South (Fig. 39). This new figure of Brahmā with Sāvitrī and Sarasvatī on either side indeed arrests attention in the new capital of the Choḷas where he introduced several such innovations. Neither Agni nor Brahmā in South India have the beard and paunch as in North India. Rājendra's experiment of representing Brahmā with the beard resulted in this innovation being carried further by his successors. In a sculpture of Agni, probably a few decades later, there is a clear introduction of the beard, though the flaming hair, a feature in South Indian sculpture, is elegantly represented in the normal way. In early Choḷa sculpture Agni is a slim youthful figure with a crown of darting flames, but in the innovation Agni has a crown of flames but with it also a long beard making him look a purohita or *ṛitvik*: *agnim īḷe purohitam yajñasya devam ṛitvijam hotāram ratnadhātamam.* There is not a single Brahmā anywhere in the South except as a youthful figure and this is a solitary exception introduced by Rājendra. Brahmā with a beard occurs in late Chāḷukyan and its derivative schools of sculpture only because of Northern influence, but the first to experiment on a beard for Brahmā in South India was Rājendra.

At Gaṅgaikoṇḍachoḷapuram there is a bull (Fig. 40) which is so different from the normal Choḷa carvings of the animal (Fig. 40a), at once recalling similar medievel ones from the Eastern Chāḷukyan territory, that it requires again to bring to our mind the fact that Rājendra had sway over the Eastern Chāḷukyan area also, as his sister Kundavai had married prince Vimalāditya and his own daughter Vimalāditya's son, Rājarāja, so named after his maternal grandfather. Again it is the appreciative spirit of Rājendra that brought this beautiful carving to his capital at Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram as an example worthy of appreciation by his own sculptor.

There is yet another sculpture at Tiruvottiyur, a suburb of Madras, styled Gaulīśa (Fig. 41) which has remained an iconographic puzzle to many in South India. Again to understand this, one has to bring to ones mind the close association of the Choḷas as conquerors with the Eastern Chāḷukyas and the Eastern Gaṅgas. In ancient and medievel India, after conquests of the *dharmavijaya* type, there was a prominent cementing of friendship between the sovereign overcome and the victor by offering a princess in marriage from the victor's house to the vanquished one, when even the kshatriya spirit of pride would no more stand in the way of his bowing at the feet of the father-in-law who was to be adored like a father. We must recall here that Rājasundarī was a Choḷa princess married into the Eastern Gaṅga house after the Choḷa conquest of Kaliṅga.

It did not stop only with Rājendra's bringing a beautifully fashioned bull bodily from somewhere near Veṅgī or Bezwāḍa. The idea of Lakulīśa occurred to him on the borders of the Eastern Chāḷukyan and the Eastern Gaṅga territory in Kaliṅga itself. In Biccavol itself in the Eastern Chāḷukyan temple of the 9th-10th centuries Lakulīśa is found introduced (Fig. 42), the concept having come from Eastern Gaṅga territory which was so close to that of the Chāḷukyas. We may notice that in Mukhaliṅgam where the Eastern Gaṅga and Chāḷukyan themes meet, Lakulīśa sometimes takes the place of Dakshiṇāmūrti, as it is also a form of Śiva as a teacher with a *daṇḍa* in his hand that is absent in the case of Dakshiṇāmūrti.

It is this idea of Lakulīśa that we find introduced in Tiruvottiyur, again by Rājendra. It cannot be forgotten that there is an important inscription in Tiruvottiyur mentioning Ravi, the greatest sculptor of his age well-versed in the principles of *śilpaśāstra* and *sthāpatya*, that constructed the *vimāna* of the Śiva temple of Tiruvottiyur which won the appreciation of Rājendra. This Gaulīśvara in the temple is the same form of Lakulīśa, only mispronounced by a forgetful posterity that was oblivious of the significance of this new iconographic innovation by the great Choḷa emperor. There is a *laguḍa* or rod in the hand which gives him the apellation Lakulīśa or Lakulīśvara *la* and *ḍa* being interchangeable.

In the Dārāsuram temple in the long cloistered pillared hall to the west of the *Nāṭyamaṇḍapa* there is a long row of one hundred and eight saints carved and with their names and a short description incised under each. These are the great Śaiva teachers from the Gangetic area, deeply learned in Śaiva lore and highly appreciated by Rājendra, who was as learned as he was war-like and had an appropriate title *Paṇḍitachoḷa.* Krishna Sastri has drawn attention to the statement of Anantasāmba commenting on the text of Trilochanaśivāchārya in his *Siddhāntasārāvali* that Rājendra during his Gangetic expedition saw there the best of Śivāchāryas, brought them along with him to his realm and settled them at Kāñchī and other places in the Choḷa country (*South Ind. Inscr.* 3, p. 22; *Jour. Orient. Res.* 7, p. 200). Rājarāja II who constructed the lovely little Śiva temple at Dārāsuram, had such admiration for the traditions of these Śivāchāryas introduced from the North that he got their portraits executed with labels to describe them individually and keep their memory as fresh as that of the *Nāyanmārs* of the South, particularly the *nālvar* or the great four. This is another of evidences to corroborate the Northern expedition of Rājendra.

It has already been mentioned that Rājendra established his new capital, created a magnificent temple for Śiva, brought water from the Ganges all the way to his realm, assumed the title *Gaṅgaikoṇḍa*, issued gold coins with that legend, all as a thanksgiving to the Almighty. Not satisfied with all this, Rājendra chose to place himself eternally with his hands clasped in devotion at the feet of the deity of his forefathers, Śiva with Umā, with a garland of victory as placed by the Lord on his head in the guise of Chaṇḍeśa, the devotee of Śiva, whom Śiva specially graced by placing a garland on his head (Fig. 43). Thus almost fondly imagining himself as in similar position Rājendra proclaimed to the world his devotion to Śiva and Śiva's blessing showered on him in the shape of his victories and the mighty empire that he wielded not only in the sub-continent but with his prestige at the highest in the whole of South-East Asia, where the Śailendra monarch was reduced to utter submission by his capturing him after his brilliant naval victory. The inscription graphically reports how Sangrāmavijayottuṅgavarman was captured, though only to be graciously restored again to power. The *praśasti* in Tamil which is an excellent literary piece paints a graphic word picture: who having despatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea and having caught Saṅgrāmavijayottuṅgavarman, the king of Kaḍāram together with the elephants in his glorious army took the large heap of treasures, which that king had rightfully accumulated; captured with noise the arch called Vidyādharatoraṇa at the 'wargate of his extensive city; Śrīvijaya with the jewelled wicket gate' adorned with great splendour and the gate of large jewels; Pannai with strong mountain for it rampart; Māyiruḍingam surrounded by the deep sea as a moat; Ilangāśoka undaunted in fierce battles; Māpappālam having abundant water as defence; Mevilaṁbaṅgam having fine walls as defence; Valaippanduru having Vilapanduru(?); Talaitakkolam praised by great men versed in sciences; Mādamaṅgalam firm in great and fierce battles; Ilamūrideśam whose fierce strength rose in war; Mānakkavaram in whose extensive flower gardens honey was collecting; and Kaḍāram of fierce strength, which was protected by the deep sea' *South Ind. Inscr.* 2, p. 109. Rājendra's fleet was as powerful on the sea abroad as his army on land in India. This is how Rājendra's history of conquest culminates in his supplicating himself at the feet of Śiva to receive the laurels of his grace signifying his all round victory.

Talking of the might of the Choḷa fleet in the Indian ocean it has to be remembered that there are glowing descriptions of Indian ships moving on the waters of the mid-ocean to reach distant shores carrying the culture of India to such islands as Indonesia, Cambodia, Malaya, Champā and so forth. There are descriptions of sea voyages, large vessels carrying hosts of adventurers, merchants, merchandise and so forth. In the early *Jātaka* tales the *Baveru-Jātaka* gives a graphic account of ancient sea-faring Indians. The *Mahāvaṁśa* chronicle of Ceylon gives again a glimpse of the glory of the Pallava navy. Āḷvars like Tirumaṅgaiāḷvār have sung of the richly laden vessels with wealth, huge elephants and heaps of nine-fold gems lying at anchor in the harbour of the Pallavas near Mahābalipuram. The inscriptions of the Choḷas mention many cities in Malaya, Champā, Cambodia and neighbouring regions, all historical, identified and corroborated. Early Pallava and Choḷa sculptures have been found in many of these places confirming the active intercourse between

India and these distant islands. The spices, importance of the trade in which brought the European companies to the East, have a reputation from the earliest times, as even Kālidasa cannot but think of *lavaṅga* flowers from distant islands brought by the sea to the Indian shores: *dvīpāntarānītalavaṅgapushpair apāhatasvedalavā marudbhiḥ, Raghuvaṁśa 6*, 57.

In India however, unfortunately, except for the magnificent literary descriptions, representations of ships in sculpture and paintings are limited, though there are some as in Ajaṇṭā and some other monuments. But in Barabudur (Fig. 44) and in Angkor Vat these representations not only abound but excel in their vivid representation of the monumental dimensions, elaboration of details of their parts and purposes of the vessels specially planned and built for long journeys over the ocean to carry hosts of passengers and liberal loads of merchandise.

How India's traders, merchantmen and sailors were welcomed in the countries of South-East Asia is clearly indicated in some of the telling panels from the richly embellished *stūpa* at Barabudur. A panel of a large vessel at anchor in a bay, the merchants landing and getting on to the shore, welcomed by the local people, who rejoice in their excellent relations with them, is a telling example, and probably a page of history of Indian movement abroad, their high prestige in distant lands, the esteem in which they were held, and all that would make for our natural pride in ancient Indian shipping. The sculptured panel vividly reveals so much that can be understood from literary sources. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* mentions times without number visits by Indian merchants to far off countries and their return home laden with wealth righteously acquired.

Tempestuous gales on the ocean are not altogether forgotten. There are vivid descriptions of these as well, and how sailors were almost drowned is narrated in such *Jātakas* as the Valahassa and in classics like *Maṇimekalai*. Guilds of merchants are mentioned in several medieval Tamil inscriptions.

It is no wonder that such favourable conditions were conducive for travels abroad. Agastya who is called *Pītasāgara*, one who could sip up the ocean, was chosen as the best deity to be worshipped that could control even the fury of the sea. In the Javanese representations of ships, Agastya, as he is easily identified by his portrait from South India, is represented on the helm of the ship as the saviour of the sailors. Similarly a great Śaivaite devotee Kāraikkālammaiyār, known only in South India, is very well known in Cambodia. At Bantei Srei there is a magnificent representation of Kāraikkālammaiyār (Fig. 45) keeping time to the dance of Śiva's *tāṇḍava* bringing to our mind similar representation in metal and stone from South India. Even in the temple at Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram, Rājendra has introduced her in the Naṭarāja panel there. It is in the same context that she finds the place in some of the temples in Cambodia. Naṭarāja's dance and Kāraikkālammaiyār's response to the dance is a purely South Indian theme represented in these far off temples beyond the ocean.

In Chidambaram the dance *karaṇas* numbering one hundred and eight as described by Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* are not only sculpturally represented in panels but also have their description in literary passages from the text of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* recording the definition of each *karaṇa* under its carving (Fig. 46). But still earlier has been the attempt of Rājarāja to show Śiva himself dancing and illustrating the *karaṇas*. This is a recently discovered series from the top floor all around the *garbhagṛiha*. This is about 1000 A.D. and some of the panels were left unfinished, though originally intended to be completed. Ratnākara's *Haravijaya* where Śiva is described as demonstrating the *karaṇas* to the various celestials including his own *pramathagaṇas* is almost anticipated in this *karaṇa* representation of Rājarāja in the Bṛihadīśvara temple.

But it is indeed most interesting to find that even earlier, more than fifteen decades earlier, in the Śiva temple at Prambanan, the *karaṇas* were emphasised as favourites of Śiva by their representation on the outer side of the temple, the inner side showing scenes composing the *Rāmāyaṇa* version of Indonesia. Śiva himself in the central shrine is not depicted as a *liṅga* as is usual, but in anthropomorphic form, with his hands in the *piṇḍībandha* position of the Śivaliṅga, as suggestion of the *Śivaliṅga* through *abhinaya* is a more pleasing mode of expression than the less attractive explicit carving of a *Śivaliṅga* itself

(Fig. 47). The phases of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* both of *abhinaya* and of pure rhythmic dance, *nāṭya* are here most obvious. It shows how early dance traditions had travelled to far off Indonesia, Cambodia and other countries of South-East Asia.

To understand again these, one has to read the Sanskrit texts of these countries. The Balinese text of the *Mahābhārata* as clearly explained by Professor Sylvain Levi indicates that the Southern Indian version was carried over here and was the most favoured. Kavi for them was Vyāsa and Vālmīki. The *ṛishis* were fashioned after these two great sages. A temple for Vālmīki, unknown in the land of his birth, is known only in a nook in Champā, Ta kieu near Mi-son. Vyāsa, the author of the *Mahābhārata*, has been given a vivid word picture in the South Indian text of the *Mahābhārata* at the beginning of the *Ādiparva* which is totally reproduced in the Balinese Sanskrit text: *abhraśyāmaḥ piṅgajaṭābaddhakalāpaḥ prāṁśur daṇḍī kṛishṇamṛigatvakparidhānāḥ sākhāllokān pāvayamānaḥ kavimukhyaḥ pārāśaryaḥ parvasu rūpam vivṛiṇotu.* Any *ṛishi* depicted in Javanese sculpture is a close parallel of similar representation in South India. Bhaṭāraguru is only another form of a sage as a *guru.* Vyāsa is considered an incarnation of Vishṇu and, taken to represent the Lord himself as a great teacher and sage, the sage has a literary description, *dhyāna*, of his given in the *Mahābhārata.*

A sculpture of the later Western Chāḷukyan school is not only a special one in itself on account the rarity of the theme, but also aesthetically a remarkable achievement of the sculptor. It is a paragon of beauty studied almost from the rear and standing as a banner as it were of feminine beauty. She is made to hold up an unfurled banner with an inscription painted on it (Fig. 48). The inscription itself is in most beautiful letters of the old Canarese variety and eulogises Vikramāditya VI. The stance of the damsel, the manner in which she is introduced for the double purpose of partly proclaiming her as a standard of beauty and partly to proclaim her lord as a great sovereign on earth, are all effects only a master craftsman could adopt with a purpose.

To understand this again fortunately literature comes to our aid, and that contemporary, from the pen of the greatest poet of the court of Vikramāditya himself, Bilhaṇa. The *Vikramāṅkadevacharita* has a graphic description of one of the great *svayaṁvaras* of medieval India, that of princess Chandralekhā the daughter of the Karahaṭa king. In Rudradāman's Girnār inscription we are told of his proving the choice of princesses in many *svayaṁvaras*. The *svayaṁvara* of princess Samyuktā who married Pṛithvirāj Chauhan is an event yet to happen. In between comes this *svayaṁvara*. Bilhaṇa specially appreciates the charm of this princess and considering her a banner of beauty as it were for Vikramāditya, whom she chose as her lord and wedded, he describes her as enchanting the eyes of all the three worlds, herself being the inscription on the banner of victory of Cupid: *yathāsti vijayastambhapraśastir iva mānmathī karahāṭapateh putrī trijagannetrakarmaṇām*, *Vikramāṅkadevacharita* 8, 2. She is again likened by the poet to a banner of fame born of curbing the pride of the beauty of damsels of all the three worlds as she stands with her fleeting glances turned to the rim of her golden necklace resting on her shoulder; *amsasthale hāralatāñchalasthavilolanetrachchhaṭayā sanāthā trilokakāntājanadarpabhaṅgaprasūtayā kīrtipatākayeva*, *Vikramāṅkadevacharita* 3, 2. Again Bilhaṇa cannot help imagining her as the very banner of Cupid and elsewhere says 'may your glance be Cupid's banner' *tavāstu dṛishṭiḥ smaravaijayantī*, *Vikramāṅkadevacharita* 9, 95.

Portraits of several rulers of India exist, and they are no doubt historically very valuable and give an idea of the physical form, majesty and demeanour of the ruler, even the details of his apparel and ornaments, the mode of hairdo as in the case of most medieval kings who wore a large tuft tied up in a large neat knot, decorated and perfumed by sweet-smelling flowers, *kusumaśekhara* as Bāṇa has described. Examples are found in Chandella, Western Chāḷukyan, Choḷa and other royal portraits.

Kanishka's headless lithic portrait from the Mathurā Museum studied with his coins giving his figure presents to us a fairly complete picture of the ruler. The inscription *mahārājā rājātirājā devaputra kānishka* in Kushāṇa characters of the first century clearly proclaim him and his dress as of foreign origin from the North i.e. Central Asia, which latter is to be understood by the description of Sūrya given by Varāhamihira, *kuryād udīchyavesham gūḍham pādād-uro* *yāvat.... kañchukaguptaḥ smitaprasannamukhaḥ*, *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* 57. 46-48.

The portraits of Mahendravarman and his queens as a standing group (Fig. 49), in the vicinity of that of Siṁhavishṇu, seated flanked by his queens (Fig. 50), as got carved in the Varāha cave 2 in the middle of the seventh century by Narasiṁhavarman I, show that there is a strong flavour of the tradition of respect due to elders clearly indicated here which is corroborated by the inscribed labels describing them. The portraits not only indicate respect but also indicate sensitively the reverence in degrees of a son to his father and to a grandfather where the respect of the father to his own father is also to be indicated. To understand Siṁhavishṇu seated with the queens standing, we have only to turn to Kālidāsa's description of Dilīpa's queen in an advanced stage of pregnancy rising with an effort from her seat respectfully at the approach of Dilīpa *prayatnamuktāsanayā gṛihāgataḥ tayopachārāñjalikhinnahastayā nananda pāriplavanetrayā nṛipaḥ*, *Raghuvaṁśa* 3, 11. Even in the case of any elders, as they approach, youngsters rise respectfully and Manu explains its significance as the vital breath soaring up almost to depart which is pressed down to position by the younger ones bowing to the elders: *ūrdhvam prāṇā hyutkramanti yūnas sthavira āyati pratyutthānābhivādābhyām punastān pratipadyate*, *Manusmṛiti*, 2, 120. This is all the more essential to a parent. That is why Siṁhavishṇu is seated and his queens standing beside him and Mahendravarman is standing with his queens beside him.

There are four excellent portraits, carvings depicting the Eastern Gaṅga king Narasiṁha in four different attitudes, all of them in the National Museum. These are from a series of portraits of the king in panels illustrating his life decorating the great monumental temple for Sūrya he caused to be built at Konarak in the thirteenth century. Here the king occurs now as a gay prince in his harem, now as a great archer and warrior, now as a litterateur appreciating the works of poets and again as a great devotee with equal respect for all forms of deity.

The panel showing him enjoying life in the harem in the company of damsels exceedingly charming, seated in a swing (Fig. 51), brings to our mind Agnivarṇa in similar situation described by Kālidāsa as enjoying their embraces in feigned fear by a loss of their hold over the swing-rope: *muktarajju nibiḍam bhayachchhalāt kaṇṭhabandhanam avāpa bāhubhiḥ*, *Raghuvaṁśa* 19, 44. Bilhaṇa presents a vivid scene of the swing-sport in the month of Chaitra when Vikramāditya experienced the joy of spring with his damsels in his palace. He paints in words how the swing-sport of sweet eyed damsels shone as the aerial car of lordly Cupid, as a palace series of the king of all flavours i.e. erotic flavour, and as the stamp of the best of all seasons for Chaitra: *kandarpadevasya vimānasṛishṭiḥ prāsādamālā rasapārthivasya chaitrasya sarvartuviśeshachihnam dolāvilāsas sudṛiśām rarāja*, *Vikramāṅkadevacharita* 7, 15.

Another shows him as a great archer wielding his bow (Fig. 52). We cannot understand the special proficiency of a bowman except from literary references to rulers, each described as the only worthwhile bowman on earth *na kevalam tadgurur ekapārthivaḥ kshitāvabhūd ekadhanurdharopi saḥ*, *Raghuvaṁśa* 3, 31 making it impossible for Dilīpa to find a better intructor in archery for his son Raghu than himself. The epithet *ekadhanudharasa* for Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī in the Nāsik cave is indeed significant.

The third panel representing Narasiṁha seated in an assembly of poets (Fig. 53) and examining the manuscript of a poem to appreciate the author brings to our mind innumerable situations described in literature of royal patronage of poets. The whole of *Bhojaprabandha*, thoroughly anachronistic in character, breathes nevertheless a touching solicitous attitude of the learned monarch for talented creative poets. Kings were no doubt very learned and there are many instances of their literary glory. Rudradāman was a highly accomplished ruler *śabdārthagāndharvanyāyādyānām vidyānām mahatīnām pāraṇadhāraṇavijñanaprayogāvāptavipulakīrtinā .... rudradāmnā*. Similar was Samudragupta. He put to shame Bṛihaspati, the preceptor of the lord of the celestials, by his keen intellect and truly hailed as a prince among poets by his recognition of learning and creation of poetical works worthy of emulation *niśitavidagdhamativrīḍitatridaśapatiguruḥ vidvajjanopajīvyānekakāvyakṛiyābhiḥ pratisṭhitakavirājaśabdasya* as the Allāhābād inscription would put it. Harshavardhana and Mahendravarman are only too well known poets, the former auther of *Ratnāvali*, *Priyadarśikā* and *Nāgānanda*, the latter of

Mattavilāsa and thereby named so in his inscription giving his titles. Kālidāsa however clearly shows that the princes were learned not to parade their knowledge but only to appreciate and reward literary talent, as all their great qualities were only for the benefit of others: *vidushām satkṛitaye bahuśrutam-------guṇavattā hi paraprayojanā, Raghuvaṁśa* 8, 31.

In his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, Rājaśekhara clearly shows the mind of the ideal monarch towards learning. He should himself be learned in different branches including *deśabhāshās*, fine arts, music, dancing and other intellectual and aesthetic domains of knowledge. When he is himself a poet, the world all around would turn poetic. He should call an assembly of poets both in Sanskrit and Prākṛits as well as Deśabhāshās and also of painters, sculptors, craftsmen, dancemasters, musicians and all such proficient in their different fields and judge their capacity for rewarding them: *rājā kaviḥ kavisamājam vidadhīta rājani kavau sarvo lokaḥ kavis syāt sa kāvyaparīkshāyai sabhām kārayet*.........*vāsudevasātavāhanaśūdrakasāhasāṅkādīn sakalān sabhāpatīn dānamānābhyām anukuryāt, Kāvyamīmāṁsā* chapter 10, p. 54. Narasiṁha was, as we understand in this context, an ideal sovereign and appreciated poetry by personally recognising the worth of poets that flocked to his court.

The fourth panel shows the king adoring a Śivaliṅga, Devī as Mahishamardinī and the trinity of Jagannātha (Fig. 54). He himself was a great devotee of Sūrya and built the magnificent Koṇarak temple. To understand this the history of the great Orissan temples is helpful. Narasiṁha's ancestors built one of them, the Liṅgarāja at Bhubaneśvar, the most imposing Śiva temple in Orissa, another in Jagannātha of which the group of deities is the most peculiar in India though representing Saṅkarshaṇa-Vāsudeva-Ekānaṁśā, already famous in Varāhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, yet another the temple of Mahishamardinī and the Mātṛikās at Jājpur. This speaks eloquently of the religious outlook of Narasiṁha who revered all the deities that his ancestors worshipped with equal ardour.

This sculpture has to be studied with another small but interesting piece belonging to the eighth century and now in the Indian Museum. It represents Harihara in the centre flanked by Sūrya and

Buddha (Fig. 55). It is indeed a peculiar combination. But it only illustrates a liberal trend of thought that emphasises synthesis of cults rather than a quarrel over them. To understand this better it is again the *Harshacharita* and even more the Banskhera or Madhuban plates of Harshavardhana himself that help. Here is the picture of Prabhākaravardhana as *Paramādityabhakta*, Rājyavardhana as *Paramasaugata*, Harshavardhana as *Paramamāheśvara*, Prabhākaravardhana's mother of the Gupta family of *Paramabhāgavatas* shows a synthesis of cults and a rare outlook far from fanaticism, where the devotion to Sūrya, Buddha, Śiva and Vishṇu commingle in rare charming proportions.

A motif in sculpture occurring in Vijayanagar art, the *gajavṛishabha*, can be traced back to the 5th century A.D. in a Gupta fragment from Deogarh. It occurs in several Vijayanagar monuments. In fact a famous painting of Ravi Varma painted towards the close of the nineteenth century that shows this motif prominently eloquently establishes its popularity for at least fifteen centuries. It occurs even in Ceylon as pointed out by Coomaraswamy, as South Indian traditions and motifs freely flowed on to the island successinely through the centuries, as the Choḷas and Pāṇḍyas turned their eyes towards it. Coomaraswamy says that this bull-elephant combination is known in Ceylon as *usamba-kuñjara* and in Southern India *virasuba-kunśara* corresponding to *vṛishabha-kuñjara*, also referring to yet another example of a late South Indian ivory depicting this theme discussed by Goetz. *J.A.O.S.* 49, 1919, p. 192. Its presence in the sixth century cave I at Bādāmī and in the eighth century Virūpāksha temple at Paṭṭaḍakal (Fig. 56), both early Western Chāḷukyan, explains its occurrence in the sixteenth century in the Achyutarāya temple, so many centuries later. But the interesting story of the travel of this motif makes the places of its occurrence during the centuries even more exciting. It occurs at Dārāsuram in the dainty Choḷa temple there of the twelth century built by Rājagambhīra Rājarāja II (Fig. 57). It occurs again in the Vijayanagar period in the temples at Vellore and Viriñchipuram. Carried as a motif by the Choḷas to Ceylon it occurs in a Ceylonese monument as well.

The theme is a trick sculpture, a *ślesha* or double entendre or pun, expressed in an ingenious way. It is the transfuson so to say of the trunk and tusk of the elephant and the snout of the bull, both the former to form the hump and the horns of the bull, and the latter to form as it were the temples of the elephant.

The importance of this motif is best realised by a reference to the motif in literature. In the commentary of *Saubhāgyavardhinī* on the *Ānandalaharī* of Śaṅkara, Kaivalyasvāmi quotes from the *Parimala* a verse from the *Mahārthamañjarī* where this famous fused picture of bull and elephant is referred: *tathā cha yaiva śaktis śaiva śivaḥ, ya eva śivas sa eva śaktiḥ upāsakānām vāsanābhedena śivas śaktir iti bhedakalpanā, yathā hitraviśeshe tattadvāsanābhedena kadāchid gajapratītiḥ kadāchid vṛishabhapratītir ityādi taduktam parimale- ālekhya-viśesha iva gajaṛishabhayor dvayoḥ pratibhāsam ekasminnevārthe śiva-śaktivibhāgakalpanām kurmaḥ iti* (*Ānandalaharī* I, in *Saundarayalaharī*, Ganesh & Co, Madras, 1957).

The same that is Śiva is Śakti also; but due to the predilections of the devotees, there is a distinctive apprehension as Śiva or Śakti, just as in a picture of sculpture, according to ones concentration, there is a comprehension sometimes of the contour of the elephant, sometimes of the bull. It is so stated in *Parimala*. We apprehend a difference between Śiva and Śakti in one and the same object, just as in a picture there is a comprehension of the separate entities of an elephant and a bull. This is a quotation from *Mahārthamañjarī Gāthā* 28 by Appayya Dīkshita in his commentary *Parimala*.

Appayya Dīkshita lived in the sixteenth century and was quite acquainted with not only earlier philosophical works but also the art motif he saw around him during his day. This reference is important both historically and culturally as it throws light on not only how motifs and themes in art are to be understood through literary comments on them but also as establishing the fact that they were appreciated through the ages by a discerning eye taking note of them.

CHAPTER TWO

COINS

Coins are a great source of value in understanding the trend of events in history and supplement in no small measure the valuable material gathered from inscriptions. Both these, and particularly coins, with their short legends and suggestive artistic rendering of portraiture, iconographic forms or revealing symbols, are best understood by a reference to appropriate passages from literature that throw a flood of light on their significance.

There are several early coins that have legends in Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī to proclaim the ruler that issued them apart from a constant factor in all of them, the humped bull and the elephant on the obverse and reverse. One of these is an Indo-Greek silver coin of Apollodotus of the second century before Christ (Fig. 58) with the legend in Greek on obverse *Basileos Apollodotus Soteros* around the figure of an elephant and with the legend in Kharoshṭhī on the reverse around a humped bull *Maharajasa Apaladatasa tratarasa*. Another, a tribal silver coin of Audumbara Mahādeva of the 2nd-1st centuries B.C., with obverse showing the humped bull, the legend in Kharoshṭhī running round it *Bhagavata Mahādevasa* and below *rājarаña*, the reverse with legend in Brāhmī around an elephant with raised trunk *Bhagavata Mahādevasa* and *Rājarāja*, below. Yet another is again a Tribal potin coin of the Yaudheyas (Fig. 59), also of the 2nd-1st centuries B.C. with legend in Brāhmī *Yaudheyānām* above the bull and the usual elephant on the reverse without any legend.

The reason for showing these two animals repeatedly in coins of different dates and different sovereigns is indeed interesting to know. It is the pride of growth in stature politically represented by the stature of the two most important examples of the highest worth.

In India the words *vṛishabha* and *kuñjara*, the bull and the elephant, are appended to any class of beings to indicate the best of the class. Pāṇini has a special injunction for such usage. The mighty personality of the king that ranks with the majesty of the full-grown elephant and the bull is the significance sought to be conveyed. Kālidāsa in describing the increased physical power and overpowering personality of Raghu, the noblest of his race, remarks that as a young calf grows into a mighty bull or as a baby elephant becomes a noble tusker in due course, so Raghu passed from childhood to youth and maintained a body at once noble and beautiful : *mahokshatām vatsataras spṛiśanniva dvipendrabhāvam kalabhas śrayanniva raghuḥ kramād yauvanabhinnaśaiśavaḥ puposha gāmbhıryamanoharam vapuḥ. Raghuvamśa* 3, 32.

Another early coin of the second century before Christ hailing from Avanti shows a king almost like a deity standing wearing a short-tailed coat and high crown. (Fig. 60) To his right is a standard surmounted by the Sun with fierce rays radiating. To the left is the solar symbol composed of alternating arrowheads and *nandipādas* Above the figure are the *svastika* and *nandipāda.* The solar standard motif in later coins like the Kācha type of Gupta coin is to be derived from this early example. The true significance of this Avanti coin, specially when we take into consideration the place of its find, is well understood when we read Sunandā's description of the king of Avanti. Kālidāsa describes him as of beautiful chiselled features and lustrous like the Sun after he was properly trimmed by Tvashṭā on the rotating wheel used for the purpose. The fierce-rayed Sun on standard beside the king and the Solar wheel are thus significant when we consider Kālidāsa's verse: *avantināthoyam udagrabāhur viśālavakshās tanuvrittamadhyaḥ āropya chakrabhramam ushṇatejās tvasṭreva śāṇollikhito vibhāti, Raghuvamśa* 6, 32.

On a coin of king Parvata of Kauśāmbī of the second century before Christ there is a representation of a mountain and a tree in railing (Fig. 61). This symbol occurs also on the Kuṇinda coin of Amoghabhūti. The significance of this is not quite clear though it may be understood as comparison to the best of each class, Meru or Himavān among mountains and *Kalpavṛiksha* among trees. Rāma was like the Himavān in fortitude, like the Meru in strength and deep in nobility like the ocean: *dhairyena himavān iva meruṇā sadṛiśo vīrye gāmbhīryāt sāgaropamaḥ*, *Rāmāyaṇa* 1, 1. 17. Rāvaṇa though bejewelled like the *Kalpavṛiksha* was frightful: *sa kalpavṛikshapratimo bhūshitopi bhayankaraḥ*, *Rāmāyaṇa* 5, 22, 29. The king liberal in giving is always likened to the *Kalpavṛiksha*, *strībhiḥ kāmo 'rthibhiḥ svardruḥ kālaḥ, śatrubhir aikshi saḥ*, *Kuvalayānanda*, p. 22.

But it is a verse from the *Raghuvamśa* describing king Atithi before a mirror decked in all his jewels and the best of apparel and reflected in all his glory like the *Kalpavṛiksha* loaded with jewels and silks mirrored on the slopes of the Meru mountain that gives a clue to understand this coin: *nepathyadarśinas chhāyā tasyādarśe hiraṇmaye virarājodite sūrye merau kalpataror iva*, *Raghuvamśa* 17, 26. The idea of the mountain reflecting as a mirror is common in poetic parlance as in Kālidāsa's *kailāsasya tridaśavanitādarpaṇasyātithis syāḥ*, *Meghadūta* 1, 61. It is this idea of a king in all his glory that is sought to be suggested in the representation on these coins.

An early silver Tribal coin of Amoghabhūti of the first century B. C. is extremely interesting for its superb suggestive content (Fig. 62). It represents a cow and a damsel standing holding a lotus, the *śrīvatsa* mark above and in between the horns of the animal and a small figure of the *Kalpavṛiksha* to suggest celestial associations for all the objects delineated. The inscription in Brāhmī running all around gives *rājñaḥ kuṇindasa amoghabhūtisa mahārājasa.* The sense of this peculiar combination of figures and symbols becomes clear when we read the line of Kālidāsa that refers to Pṛithvī or the earth as *gorūpadharā* or in the form of a cow, with the four oceans as her udder, meaning thereby a mighty expanse of empire reaching the oceans. It is clear from inscriptions like those of the Guptas that it was the ambition of every king to rule the earth upto the shores of the oceans: *chaturudadhisalilāsvāditayaśasaḥ*, *C. Inscr. Ind.* 3, p. 26. This was the ideal limit of the empire; but a certain element of vanity in some cases excusable, always drove even kings in their limited territories to style themselves as ruling a realm extending to the seas.

This coin of Kuṇinda Amoghabhūti suggests his unfailing fortune symbolized by the cow of plenty, with the damsel close by suggesting Pṛithvī or earth personified, who assumed the form of a cow : *payodharībhūtachatussamudrām jugopa gorūpadharām ivorvīm*, *Raghuvaṁśa* 2,3. The cow is also the celestial cow of plenty in the proximity of the *Kalpavṛiksha* and answers Kālidāsa's line *āsīt kalpataruchchhāyām aśritā surabhiḥ pathi*, *Raghuvaṁśa* 1,75.

There is even greater significance. Pṛithvī here is not just the damsel of earth. She is Rājyaśrī, the goddess of the empire on earth, Royal prosperity personified. Hence she significantly holds the lotus, the emblem of Lakshmī : *lakshmīs tathā padmini padmahastā*, *Rāmāyaṇa* 5, 7, 14; *nityam sā padmahastā mama vasatu gṛihe sarvamāṅgalyayuktā*, *Śrīsūkta*. The *Śrīvatsa* symbol above the horns of the cow is Lakshmī shown symbolically, while the cow is the zoomorphic form of Lakshmī. In the *Mahābhārata* there is an elaborate description of the cow representing Lakshmī in particular while embodying in herself all the other celestials as well in the different limbs composing her body (*Mahābhārata*). The name Amoghabhūti itself suggesets limitless fortune; and the trebly emphasized form of Lakshmī, Rājyalakshmī in this case, in anthropomorphic, zoomorphic and symbolic representations of her, makes the name significant *anvartha*.

Among Indo-Parthian coins there is a silver one of the Satrap Jihunia or Zionises of Taxila of the first century A.D., with the reverse showing the *satrap* standing facing a goddess carrying a cornucopia in her left hand and crowning him with a wreath held in her right hand (Fig. 63). The legend around runs in Kharoshṭhī *managulasa chatrapasa putrasa chatrapasa jihuniasa.* Vincent Smith suggests that this is probably a respresentation of the Fortune of a vanquished city. We know that in one of the Gupta inscriptions Lakshmī is described as having chosen the king as her lord: *vyapetya sarvān manujendraputrān lakshmīs svayam yam varayāṁchakāra*, *C. Inscr. Ind.* 3, p. 59. Surely it should remind one of similar idea repeated so often by Kālidāsa : *bheje'bhisārikāvṛittim jayaśrīr vīragāminī*, *Raghuvaṁśa* 17, 69; *asīd atiśayaprekshyas sa rājyaśrīvadhūvaraḥ*, *Raghuvaṁśa* 17, 25; *narendramūlāyatanād anantaram tadāspadam śrīr yuvarājasamjñitam agachchhad aṁśena guṇābhilāshiṇī navāvatāram kamalād ivotpalam*, *Raghuvaṁśa* 3, 36; *upāttavidyam vidhivad gurubhyas tam yauvanodbhedaviśeshakāntam śrīḥ sābhilāshāpi guror anujñām dhīreva kanyā pitur āchakāṅksha*, *Raghuvaṁśa* 5, 38.

Whether it is the goddess of Royal fortune, Rājyalakshmī, or the Goddess of the fortune of a city that woos the valorous king as her Lord, there is a certain picturesque effect in it as in Kālidāsa's description of the Goddess of the City of Ayodhyā personally come for wooing her Lord Kuśa that caused great joy among the learned Brāhmaṇas assembled in the king's court: *tad adbhutam samsadi rātrivṛittam prātar dvijebhyo nṛipatis śaśamsa śrutvā ta etam kularājadhānyā sākshāt patitve vṛitam abhyanandan*, *Raghuvamśa* 16, 24.

The idea of City goddesses was also greatly in vogue, and, like the example of the goddess of Ayodhyā just mentioned, there are others particularly known through the legends on coins as for instance *Pukhalavadi devatā* (*Skt. Pushkalāvatī devatā*) from Puskhalāvatī or modern Charsadda and *Kavisiya nagaradevatā* (*Skt. Kapiśāyā nagaradevatā*) from Kāpiśā or modern Begram.

The motif of Lakshmī, as just Lakshmī on lotus or as Gajalakshmī or Lakshmī with *nidhis* around her, is a favourite one that has survived through the centuries both as a sculptural theme to decorate architectural monuments and as a theme on royal seals and on the obverse of a huge variety of coins. She occurs as early as the second century before Christ on a rare Śuṅga coin (Fig. 64) of Sujyeshṭha (*J. N.S. I.* 16, p. 59.60) and on Sodāsa's coins from Mathurā as Gajalakshmī standing on a lotus and bathed by elephants answering the description of Vālmīki *niyujyamānā cha gajais suhastā lakshmīs tathā padmini padmahastā*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, 5, 7,14. She appears in similar form on some Tribal coins like those of the Kuṇindas but not necessarily always as Gajalakshmī. She occurs on the obverse of the Sātavāhana coin of Siri Yajña Sātakarṇī. Though the figures are not very clear this is Lakshmī surrounded by *nidhis*. To understand this coin better a gold coin of Kumāragupta comes to our help (Fig. 65). Here on the obverse of the elephant rider type, she is clearly flanked by the lotus and conch representing *Padma* and *Śaṅkha-nidhis*, the two principal ones that in themselves represent the rest of the nine *nidhis*, *mahāpadma*, *makara*, *kachchhapa*, *mukunda*, *kunda*, *nīla* and *kharva*. Kālidāsa describes the two *nidhis* as flanking the doorway of the Yaksha's mansion: *dvaropānte likhitavapushau śaṅkhapadmau cha dṛishṭvā*, *Meghadūta* 2, 20. This is a feature in all *prāsādas* and temples. Like the *pūrṇaghaṭas* suggesting Gaṅgā and Yamunā the lotus and conch suggest all treasures and prosperity. Even in Tamil classics *Śaṅkha* and *Padamanidhis* are described flanking deities. In the description of the various celestial *sabhās* in the *Mahābhārata*, Lakshmī flanked by *Śaṅkha* and *Padma* is mentioned ever present in Kubera's *sabhā*. It is thus that Lakshmī on the Gupta coin has to be understood.

The elephant-rider type is prominent because of the extremely suggestive theme chosen and portrayed by Kumāragupta on the obverse of the coin (Fig. 66). It represents the emperor as a charming prince riding the state elephant in all his glory with the single parasol on earth raised over his head. To understand this we should peep into the *Rāmāyaṇa* in which the picture painted by Vālmīki inspired Kamāragupta to choose this theme for depiction on his coin. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the citizens of Ayodhyā with one accord express their mind to Daśaratha, on hearing from him his intention to anoint Rāma as Yuvarāja, that nothing would give them greater joy than to see their beloved prince, the noble and mighty Rāma, in royal movement galore on the lofty state elephant, with his head screened from the sun by the umbrella held aloft: *ichchhāmo hi mahābāhum raghuvīram mahābalam gajena mahatā yāntam rāmam chhatrāvṛitānanam*, *Rāmayaṇa* 2, 2, 22. Kālidāsa describes King Atithi, the son of Kuśa and Kumudvatī, riding the elephant in all splendour with parasol held over his head, parasol denied to all others and vouchsafed for him alone, making him emperor of all the domain on earth like Indra in heaven: *sa puram puruhūtaśrīḥ kalpadrumanibhadhvajām kramamāṇas chakāra dyām nāgenairāvataujasā tasyaikasyochchhṛitam chhatram mūrdhni tenāmalatvishā pūrvarājaviyogaushmyam kṛitsnasya jagato hṛitam*, *Raghuvamśa* 17, 32, 33.

There is another variety of the same coin found in the Bayana hoard which, by the addition of a lion trampled under, makes it the elephant-rider lion-trampler type. In this the parasol, being only for him and none else, making him the suzerain lord, conveys the sense of the second verse quoted above and also brings to our mind the tribute paid by Sītā to Daśaratha in introducing herself to Hanumān as his daughter-in-law, Daśaratha who was the foremost among all the lion-like kings on earth devastating the armies of all his foes: *prithivyām rājasiṁhānām mukhyasya viditātmanaḥ suushā daśarathasyāham śatrusainyapramāthinaḥ*, *Rāmāyaṇa* 5, 33, 16.

All the opponent kings of Kumāragupta are thus made the lion below, himself the mightiest royal lion riding the elephant, the umbrella of suzerainty held over him. It also shows him as a charming prince like Rāma whom his subjects loved to picture thus on elephant-back.

There is no doubt an earlier version of king on elephant in Huvishka's copper issues (Fig. 67), which shows him just seated on the animal without the umbrella held over him, which makes an ocean of difference between this and the coin of Kumāragupta, which is a faithful picture of a prince, the beloved of his people, so pictured by them in their minds. This however shows him as rivalling Indra on his Airāvata. A poet, who composed an early Eastern Chāḷukyan *praśasti*, remarks that as the king Amma mounted his elephant his foes climbed up the hill-top and as he grasped his sword the princesses of his enemy kings held up the *chaurīs*, meaning thereby that as he overcome his enemy forces mounted on elephant in battle, driven from their kingdoms his foes had to seek shelter on hill slopes, just as when his sword played havoc bringing victory, the princesses of the vanquished realms had to humble themselves before the victor: *yasmin ārūḍhadantinyarikulam akhilam rohati kshmābhṛidagram yatpāṇāvattaśastre ripuyuvatikarā gṛihṇate chāmarāṇi*, *Epigraph. Ind.* 5, p. 122.

On the reverse of this coin is shown Sūrya called in the legend in Greek letters *Mioro* for Sanskrit *Mihira*. The deity is shown standing with radiating halo around his head, right hand extended and the left resting on sword fastened to his left, and wearing long coat, trousers and top boots, exactly as in similar earlier coins of Kanishka who does not however ride an elephant on the obverse. To understand this type of Kushāṇa Sūrya, which has tremendously influenced the iconography of Sūrya all over North India through all subsequent centuries, making him always wear *udīchyavesha* or northern apparel, meaning thereby the Central Asian type from further north, we should refer to the description of Sūrya's form given by Varāhamihira : *kuryād udīchyavesham gūḍham pādād uro yāvat kañchukaguptaḥ smitaprasannamukhaḥ*, *Bṛihatsamhitā* 57, 46-48.

It is thus observed that the Kushāṇa kings display a rare form of early Hindu iconography, which it requires a careful study to understand. The early indigenous type of turbaned, barebodied, garland-decorated Sūrya, completely Indian in concept, becomes a transformed and almost Central Asian type, which became such a norm, at least in North India, that Varāhamihira has no other description of the Solar deity except this. Buddha as known from Kanishka's picture of the Master on his coin is also understood by us better from the recorded description in the *Bṛihatsamhitā*. Vāyu or Vāta on the coin of Kanishka is shown running fast almost as fast as Atalanta in her race (Fig. 68). Never has Vāyu been represented so in any later sculpture of his. There is none of his earlier either, either similar or dissimilar. It is a unique form of the wind god, fresh and natural in concept and execution. The banner fluttering in his hand symbolizes him, and his vehicle the swift deer distinguishes him in medieval sculpture. Here, however the speed of Vāyu is directly marked in the figure of the deity itself. In the *Kenopanishad* Agni, Vāyu and Indra approach the highest spirit Brahman to know all about it and Vāyu announces himself and his powers to prove which he runs in all his speed towards the blade of grass held out. *tad udapreyāya sarvajavena*, *Kenopanishad* 3, 10. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Sītā, asked by Hanumān to permit him to fetch her on his shoulder to Rāma, shudders at the idea, and expresses how she would not stand the velocity of his speed equal only to that of Vāyu: *vāyuvegasavegasya vego mām mohayet tava*, *Rāmāyaṇa* 5, 37, 43.

It is interesting that on the Kushāṇa coin of Vāyu, two-armed, and running with hair dishevelled, he holds the terminals of his *uttarīya* or upper garment filled with wind indicating swift movement just as directed for pictorial representation in the *Vishṇudharmottara*: *vayvāpūritavastraścha dvibhujo rūpasamyutaḥ kāryo gṛihītavastrāntaḥ karābhyām pavano dvija vyāvrittāsyas tathā kāryo devo vyākulamūrdhajaḥ*, *Vishṇudharmottara* 3, 58, 1-3. The *Vishṇudharmottara*, an early Gupta text, has no doubt recorded faithfully existing forms of deities as known from earlier times and this is a happy instance.

A rare coin of Huvishka shows the King on the obverse riding an elephant, the reverse showing the figure of an archer holding a bow of his own length (Fig. 69) with legend in Brāhmī *gaṇeśa* (*Coins of Anc. Ind.* p. 81). This figure with a single pair of arms, tall and imposing, with no elephant head or pot belly or dwarfish stature appears to pose a problem. J.N. Banerjea has discussed it under Śiva and explained *ganeśa* as an epithet of Śiva, quoting from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Development of Early Hindu Iconography* p. 125). To understand this there are two important things to be considered. The first is that the Kushāṇas had a great veneration for Śiva and clearly expressed it by representing him with a single pair of arms or with four arms, with a single head or with three faces, with a variety of weapons, associating him with weapons of other deities like Vishṇu, Indra, Brahmā, Skanda, Gaṇeśa, Sūrya and so fourth. On the coins of Kadphises there is not only Śiva on the reverse but almost identifying himself or composing himself with Śiva gives the legend in Kharoshṭhī *mahārājasa rājātirājasa sarvaloga īśvarasa maheśvarasa wima kathphisasa tratarasa*, *Coins of Anc. Ind.* p. 68. This shows the spirit of importance attached to the Śiva concept by the Kushāṇas. The second point is the early text giving the *vibhūti* of Śiva, the *Śatarudrīya*, the importance of which for Śiva iconographic concept is comparable only to the *Purushasūkta* that gives the *vibhūti* of Vishṇu. It cannot be that the Kushāṇas did not think of this most important text in their ardour for Śiva. In the *Śatarudrīya*, Śiva with his great bow, arrows and quiver is the form pervading throughout the text: *namas te astu dhanvane bāhubhyām uta te namaḥ* is an exact picture of this figure. In the same text Rudra is adored as the lord of *gaṇas*, *gaṇebhyo gaṇapatibhyas cha vo namaḥ*. Similarly he is the Lord of the armies and the Commander of *ugaṇas* or the Mātṛikās, *nama ugaṇābhyas trimhatibhyas cha*. The idea that he is Mahādeva, the great Lord and that Gaṇeśa or Senānī or Mahāsena or the Mātṛikās are after him, deriving their attributes from him, is made clear by this coin and the coin with the legend Mahāsena.

A silver coin of Kshatrapa Nahapaṇa of the second century A.D., has two emblems on its reverse, the arrow and the thunderbolt, both weapons of war (Fig. 70). The legend in Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī run all around *rājño kshaharātasa nahapaṇasa*. A passage from the *Abhijñānaśākuntalam* makes it clear that the bow of the ruling king and the thunderbolt of Indra were the two weapons that effectively protected their respective realms from the onslaught of enemies: *āśamsante surayuvatayo baddhavairā hi daityair asyādhijye dhanushi vijayam pauruhūte cha vajre*, *Abhijñānaśākuntalam* 2, 16. But the true significance of the thunderbolt is clearly understood from the verse of Kālidāsa that describes the might of the king as comparable to that of the wielder of the thunderbolt: *tataḥ param vajradhara-prabhāvas tadātmajas samyati vajraghoshaḥ babhūva vajrākarabhūshaṇā-yāḥ patiḥ prithivyāḥ kila vajraṇābhaḥ, Raghuvaṁśa* 18, 21. The special power of the thunderbolt is also clear when we see the description of the battle between Raghu and Indra, where finally the latter throws away his bow and takes the thunderbolt as the supreme weapon: *sa chāpam utsṛijya vivṛiddhamatsaraḥ praṇāśanāya prabalasya vidvishaḥ mahīdhrapakshavyaparopaṇochitam sphuratprabhāmaṇḍalam astram ādade, Raghuvaṁśa* 3, 60.

The ideal of a mortal king was the celestial one. While Indra wielded the *vajra*, the king on earth was the best bowman, both to protect their respective realms. The highest power on earth lying in the bow, here signified by the arrow, to shoot which it was used, is in juxtaposition with the thunderbolt of the Lord of heaven.

The might of the bowman, the only bowman to be reckoned on earth, is admirably illustrated in a lead coin of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī (Fig.71). This shows a single large bow strung and fitted with arrow marked on the obverse with legend in Brāhmī *Raño Gotamīputasa Vilivayakurasa.* Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī is one of the most remarkable kings in Indian history. The figure of the bow naturally leads us to the question of what it connotes. The answer is to be sought in the line of the famous inscription of Balasiri, the mother of Gautamīputra, who gifted an excavated cave to Buddhist monks at Nāsik and recorded the donation. There is a long glowing description of the noble qualities of Gautmīputra recounted by the fond mother Balasiri sorrowing for her great son during the reign of her grandson Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, worthy son of Gautamīputra. A line in this *praśasti* describes Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī as *ekadhanudharasa, Epigraph. Ind.* 8, p. 60. He had no rival bowman on earth. In describing Dilīpa, Kālidāsa uses the identical expression in his verse *na kevalam tadgurur ekapārthivaḥ kshitāvabhūd ekadhanurdharo'pi saḥ, Raghuvaṁśa* 3, 31. The sense of the coin is thus made clear in unequivocal terms. Further, as it is strung with arrow fitted on it, it also conveys the sense, as in Kālidāsa's verse, that there was nothing that the king could not obtain even in heaven when he tightened the string of his bow: *na hīshṭam asya tridive'pi bhūpater abhūd anāsādhyam adhijya-dhanvanaḥ*, *Raghuvaṁśa*, 3, 6.

It is in this context that several later coins, particularly the archer type of coins of the Guptas, of Chandragupta II, Kumāragupta, Skandagupta and others are to be understood.

The battle axe type of Samudragupta is an important coin with the axe as a destroying weapon emphasized as the very personification of death as the legend would have it *kṛitāntaparaśuḥ* (Fig. 72). This has an allusion to the axe of Paraśurāma that gave a death blow to the entire Kshatriya race twentyone times and not to Yama, as Yama has either his *daṇḍa* or *pāśa* for inflication and not the *paraśu*. But in the case of the Kshatriya race it was the axe of Jāmadagnya that acted as death personified. No doubt a powerful king was a terror to his foes appearing kāla or death in his form as in the verse from the *Kuvalayānanda*, *strībhiḥ kāmorthibis svardruḥ kālas śatrubhir aikshi saḥ*. But the term *paraśu* at once brings to our mind the famous line of Kālidāsa where Pratīpa, a scion of the race of Kārtavīryārjuna, is described as on the friendliest terms with the god of Fire, which enabled him to look on the sharp edge of Rāma's axe, the very night of deluge for all Kshatriyas, as just a smooth lotus petal: *āyodhane kṛishṇagatim sahāyam avāpya yaḥ kshatriyakālarātrim dhārām sitām rāmaparaśvadhasya sambhāvayatyutpalapatrasāṛām*, *Raghuvaṁśa* 6. 42. The word *kālarātri* is the most terrible aspect of death. Hence the word *kṛitāntaparaśu* on the coin. *Kṛitāntaparaśu* should be understood in the sense of *kritānta iva paraśuḥ* or *kṛitāntaśchāsau paraśus' cha* i.e. axe dreadful like death and not as *kritāntasya paraśuh*, the axe of Death or Yama, as Yama does not carry an axe. Kālidāsa has correctly spelt it out. The axe of Paraśurāma distinguishes Rāma with the axe from Rāma with the bow and it is that which is *kshatriyakālarātri*. Samudragupta's axe was thus another such to his foes.

On some silver coins of Gautamīputra Yajña Śātakarṇī (Fig. 73) is imprinted on the obverse a youthful head with sidelocks known as *kākapaksha*. The side locks like the *vyāghranakha* or tiger claw pendent for necklace were the special features of juvenile adornment, the former a characteristic mode of hair-dress for princes in their boyhood in ancient India. Rāma, when he sallied forth with Viśvāmitra to protect his sacrifice from the onslaught of evil demons, is described as wearing side-locks: *viśvāmitro yayāvagre tato rāmo mahāyaśāḥ kākapakshadharo dhanvt tam cha saumitrir anvagāt*, *Rāmāyaṇa* 1, 12, 6.

Kṛishṇa and Balarāma are shown as little boys fighting the wrestlers Mushṭika and Chāṇūra in a carved panel from Pahārpur where this juvenile decoration specially marks them as children. A sculpture of the child-warrior Kārtikeya wearing *kākapakshas* and the tiger's claws in the Bharat Kala Bhavan is an exquisite Gupta piece.

The figure of the coin shows the *kākapaksha* associated with princely youth but its significance is understood only from the verse of Kālidāsa emphasizing the fact that age is of no consideration in the case of the powerful: *kauśikena sa kila kshitīśvaro rāmam adhvaravighātaśāntaye kākapakshadharam etya yāchitas tejasām hi na vayas samīkshyate*, *Raghuvamśa* 11, 1. Again Kālidāsa has it that the appellation *mahānīla* cannot be false in the case of even a small sapphire owing to its splendour, so the renowned title *mahārāja* befitted him even though he was but a child. Word of command coming from his mouth, on whose cheeks were waving the side-locks and beside whom *chauris* were waved, never failed even on the shores of the oceans: *maṇau mahānīla iti prabhāvād alprapamaṇopi yathā na mithyā śabdo mahārāja iti pratītas tathaiva tasmin yuyuje' rbhake' pi paryantasañcharitachāmarasya kapolalolobhayakākāpakshāt tasyānanād uchcharito vivādas chaskhāla velāsvapi nārṇavānām*, *Raghuvamśa* 18, 42, 43.

In the light of this we understand that though still Yajña Śātakarṇī was in his youth, his prowess and power was immense and his tender age suggested by his side-locks should not underrate his might.

On the reverse of this coin there are symbols whose meaning is obscure (Fig 73). The individual symbols are quite clear though the connotation of the group as such is far from clear. On this coin there are what is called by Numismatists the Ujjain symbol, a cross with circlets at the terminals, one of them topped by a crescent, a symbol of *chaitya* or more correctly a hill surmounted by a crescent, a star or a cricle of stars and a zigzag symbol connoting a river or stream as it is usually believed. It is amazing how the connotation of this group of symbols is made quite clear by a verse of Kālidāsa describing the spread of the fame of Raghu that ascended mountains, crossed the oceans, entered the abode of the snakes i.e. the netherworld, went up to heaven, and being still expansive was too much to be measured by any standard: *ārūḍham adrīn udadhīn vitīrṇam bhujaṅgamānām vasatim pravishṭam ūrdhvam gatam yasya na chānubandhi yaśaḥ parichchhettum iyattayālam*, *Raghuvamśa* 6, 77. Fame has always been regarded in India as white in colour and has been compared to the moon. This accounts for the representation of the moon as a crescent above the hill as in no otherwise can an abstract object like fame be represented. The line *ārūḍham adrīn* is thus substantiated. The rest of the line *udadhīn vitīrṇam* and *bhujaṅgamānām vasatim pravishṭam* is suggested, fame again crossing the four oceans implied in the four circlets of the Ujjain symbol, and zigzag effectively symbolizing the snake or *bhujaṅga* i.e. that which goes zigzag, whose dwelling is in the deep and down below, the netherworld. The sky or heaven can be represented only by the stars and the symbol of the star or a cluster of stars clearly points to that sphere where fame travelled and substantiates *ūrdhvam gatam*.

Herein lies the beauty of symbolic representation of the great fame of a mighty king from a single verse of a gifted poet adopted by a mighty ruler of a later day on his coin. Raghu, the hero of the family *Raghuvamśa* which forms the theme of the poet's song in epic glory, was enough to inspire not only Śātakarṇī but a host of successive rulers thereafter. This fascinating theme did not disappear after its appearance on this Sātavāhana coin. So attractive and so full of significance was it, that the Kshatrapas who finally overcame and dispossessed the Sātavāhanas of their Western dominions, still did not refrain from adopting this symbolic representation of fame originated by the Sātavāhanas on the model of Kālidāsa's verse (Fig. 74). To show clearer that fame climbed the mountain the crescent was now shown on the slopes, *kaṭaka* and then on the top of the hill as in the original, and the circle of stars was sometimes replaced by a circle of rays symbolizing the sun to suggest the sky and the Ujjain symbol omitted. This is the type found on the coins of Western Kshatrapa rulers like Rudradāman, Dāmasena, Vīradāman and others. It occurs on some issues of the Traikūṭakas of the third and fourth centuries A.D., though however by this time the symbols degenerate, the sense getting confused and almost lost.

It is interesting that the coin of an earlier ruler Vāsishṭhīputra Śrī Śātakarṇī is a bilingual variety, a very rare type, of which only three surviving examples are known (Fig. 75). It has on its obverse the earliest Sātavāhana portrait on a coin which precedes that of Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇī in this feature of a portrait and the four significant symbols on the reverse as well. The portrait however lacks *kākapakshas* that can be only for a juvenile figure. It has the usual Brāhmī legend on the obverse showing the portrait name *Vāsiṭhiputasa siri satakanisa*, with the additianal legend repeated not in Brāhmī but in Tamil. The Tamil word *tiru* replaces *siri* and *makan* the word *putra*, *rajño* being substituted by *arachan*, the whole reading *arachanuku vachiṭṭimakanuku tiru Chaṭakaniku*. The Sātavāhanas were great patrons of literature, Sanskrit and Prakrit, particularly the latter. It is interesting that this Śātakarṇī encouraged the use of one of the oldest venaculars in India, Tamil, along with Prākṛit by making his coins bilingual. The marking of '*pulli*' or a dot over a consonent to indicate it as a pure consonent is exclusive to Tamil and its very early occurrence in this legend is most interesting (*Seminar on Inscriptions* 1966, Madras 1968, p. 200-202).

The Yaudheyas were a warlike tribe and they were distinguished for their valour and prowess in battle. Naturally they prided in this and chose Kārtikeya as their war-lord, and on their coins showing Skanda standing holding a spear in his hand (Fig. 76) with the legend in Brāhmī *yaudheya gaṇasya jaya or brahmaṇyadevasya yaudheyagaṇasya jaya* this choice of theirs to have the celestial war-lord as their patron deity and ideal in military glory is clearly pronounced. They were fully conscious of the importance of Kārtikeya as the glowing power of Śiva himself exceeding even solar effulgence conserved in flaming fire to be the protector of the celestial army itself : *rakshāhetor navaśaśibhṛitā vāsavīnām chamūnām atyādityam hutavahamukhe sambhṛitam taddhi tejaḥ, Meghadūta* 1, 46. When Kālidāsa mentions Kumāra as the appropriate comparison of a warlike prince born, *Kumārakalpam sushuve kumāram*, it is to emphasize his worth as a Kshatriya prince.

The name Brahmaṇyadeva for Kārtikeya appears to create a puzzle as Kṛishṇa is also Brahmaṇyadeva according to the famous verse *namo brahmaṇyadevāya gobrāhmaṇahitāya cha jagaddhitāya kṛishṇāya govindāya namo namaḥ*. But it is Kārtikeya with six heads on Yaudheya coins that is styled Brahmaṇyadeva, Skaṇmukha nurtured by the six Kṛittikās who has significantly six heads. Skanda Kārtikeya is well known to the Guptas as Brahmaṇyadeva and is so called in the Bilsad inscription of Kumāragupta : *bhagavatas trailokyatejassambhārasamudbhūtamūrter brahmaṇyadevasya svāmimahāsenasyāyatane, C. Inscr. Ind.* p. 44.45. In South India during *sandhyā* the verse *namo brahmaṇyadevāya gobrāhmaṇahitāya cha* is daily repeated. Along with this the salutation to Narmadā is offered by a group of *smārtas* called *Vaḍamas* or northerners. It is a known fact that serveral Vedic families moved from North India to the South and settled down wherever they were given some land as *agrahāra* by the rulers in recognition of their Vedic learning. The memory of the movement of one such group, *Ashṭasahasram*, is preserved in the name of the village Eṇṇāyiram in South Arcot district. The Brahmaṇyadeva of this prayer is Kārttikeya Brahmaṇyadeva of the Yaudheyas. Brahmaṇyadeva is the god of righteousness. That is how to emphasis the opposite of *abrahmaṇya*, Braḥmaṇyadeva was styled Subraḥmaṇya in South India, a synonym for Skanda more popular than the term Skanda or Kārtikeya.

In the context of the choice of Kartikeya as the ideal for a warlike prince intended to establish his might on earth everything associated with Skanda, the cock, the peacock, the spear, all appealed, the peacock specially. So there was a special type of coin of Kumāragupta, the peacock type, showing Skanda or Kumāra on the bird. It is interesting to recall that Kumāragupta was named after Kumāra himself even as Kālidāsa would put it *Kumārakalpam sushuve kumāram*, *Raghuvamśa* 5, 36. This was an age when Kumāra as Kārtikeya, Shaḍānana and Brahmaṇyadeva was highly venerated. We have noticed that the Yaudheya coins of the first-second centuries A.D., showing a six-headed deity, eulogise Kārttikeya and Shaḍānana like some others with Brahmaṇyadeva.

In the so called warrior type of Yaudheya coins of slightly later date, Kārtikeya is shown with his spear as in the previous coin, but with a single face and with his cock beside him. Kumāra was the warrior god *par excellence* and was the type kings tried to emulate which explains why Kālidāsa often compares several distinguished princes to Kumāra: *brāhme muhūrte kila tasya devī kumārakalpam sushuve kumāram, Raghuvaṁśa* 5, 36. *athopayantrā sadriśenav yuktām skandena sākshād iva devasenām, Raghuvaṁśa* 7, 1; *hareḥ kumāropi kumāra vikramaḥ, Raghuvaṁśa* 3, 55, meaning respectively 'his queen gave birth at dawn to a prince equal to Kumāra', 'with bridegroom befitting her, like Devasenā herself with Skanda' and 'the prince mighty like Kumāra'. The figure on the obverse of the coin of Kumāragupta is fully understood in this sense of comparison (Fig. 77a) when we recall the description of the prince looking exceedingly beautiful comparable to Guha seated on the back of the peacock: *bhūyishṭham āsīd upameyakāntir mayūraprishṭhāśrayiṇā guhena, Raghuvaṁśa* 6, 4.

On the reverse also of this coin there is the peacock glorified. The goddess of Prosperity or Devasenā personified tries to fondle the vehicle of Skanda by offering a fruit (Fig. 77b). In this case the goddess is erect and not bent and the peacock with spread tail is dancing before her in great joy. The legend is *mahendra Kumāraḥ*. In the tiger-slayer type of coin with the legend *śrīmahendro vyāghrabalaparākramo jayati*. There is again on the reverse the goddess fondling the peacock but here she is bent towards the bird and all the more solicitous towards it. Does it not remind one of the Yakshī in the *Meghadūta* playing with the peacock and coaxing it to dance with its tail spread picturesquely colourful: *tālais śiñjāvalayasubhagaiḥ kāntayā nartito me yām adhyāste divasavigame nīlakaṇṭhaḥ suhṛid vaḥ*, *Meghadūta* 2, 19.

The might of the warrior becomes the theme of a category of coins. Power is associated with the king of the beasts, the lion, the sniff of the lions in the Himālayan caves, that just turned their head a little, without the least concern as the tumultous mighty host of victorious troops marched past, conscious of the fact that they were equally powerful, brings out this fact clearly: *śaśaṁsa tulyasatvānām sainyaghoshe'pyasambhramam guhāśayānām siṁhānām parivṛityāvalokanam, Raghuvaṁśa* 4, 72. Naturally the king asserted his own power by vanquishing the lion; and the poet's fancy enlightens us on the king's attitude of fight with the lord of the beasts by explaining that the king cleared himself of his obligation to the mighty elephants that helped him in his battles by killing their dreaded enemy: *tān hatvā gajakulabaddhatīvravairān kākutsthaḥ kuṭilanakhāgralagnamuktān ātmānam raṇakṛitakarmaṇām gajānām ānṛiṇyam gatam iva mārgaṇair amamsta*, *Raghuvamśa* 9, 65. And in this combat his might is proved to be equal to that of the lion. It is this fight with the lion and the establishing of his superior power and leonine strength that is sought in the figure of the king slaying the lion on the obverse of the lion-slayer type of gold coin of Chandragupta II. The use of arrows *mārgaṇaiḥ* to kill the lion answers the description of Kālidāsa. On the reverse is the legend *siṁhavikramaḥ* which is a repeat of the last word of the legend on the obverse *narendrachandraḥ prathita....divam jayatyajeyo bhuvi siṁhavikramaḥ*, and it is a clear echo of Kālidāsa's *simhorusatvam nijagāda simhaḥ*, *Raghuvamśa* 2,33.

The beautiful warrior pose in which the archer with his drawn bow engages his opponent, and famous both in *nāṭya* and *śilpa* to represent the best of warriors, *ālīḍha* or *pratyālīḍha*, is again immortalized in another variety of coin of Chandragupta II on which the king appears attacking the lion, his right leg bent and left leg drawn to trample the animal even as he shoots him with his bow and arrow. This is the *ālīḍha* posture, one of the five warrior poses. It does remind one of the lines of Kālidāsa where he describes Raghu in the majestic warrior stance of *ālīḍha* to attack Indra: *sa evam uktvā maghavantam unmukhaḥ karishyamāṇas saśaram śarāsanam atishṭhad ālīḍhaviśeshaśobhinā vapuḥprakarsheṇa viḍambiteśvaraḥ, Raghuvamśa* 3, 52. It also brings to our mind the picture of prince Sudarśana wielding the bow standing with the forepart of his body stretched a little, with his hair tied up, with his left leg contracted, and with the bow to which the arrow was added drawn up to the ear: *vyūhya sthitaḥ kiñchid ivottarārdham unnaddhachūḍo 'ñchitasavyajānuḥ ākarṇam ākṛishṭasabāṇadhanvā vyarochatāgre sa vinīyamānaḥ, Raghuvamśa* 18, 51.

One of the most important of varieties of coin of Samudragupta is the *Aśvamedha* type (Fig.78) which has on its obverse the horse shown near the sacrificial post decorated with flying pennons with legend *rājādhirājaḥ pṛithivīm avitvā divam jayatyaprativāryavīryaḥ.* On the reverse is a damsel standing with flywhisk in her left hand, a staff adorned with pennons in front of her. The legend behind her is *aśvamedha-parākramaḥ* meaning mighty by the performance of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. In the dialogue between prince Raghu and Indra, the latter justifies his carrying away the sacrificial horse in the care of Raghu as he had to act so to save his own glory by carrying away the sacrificial horse and prevent the accomplishment of a hundred horse sacrifices by his sire: *yaśas tu rakshyam parato yaśodhanaiḥ jagatprakāśam tad aśesham ijyayā bhavadgurur langhayitum mamodyataḥ, Raghuvamśa* 3, 48. The performance of the *Aśvamedha* established the sovereign's *parākrama* and the legend on the coin is pregnant with meaning. The horse itself is mentioned by Kālidāsa as the first and foremost accessory of the sacrifice *tad aṅgam agryam maghavan mahākrator amum turaṅgam pratimoktum arhasi, Raghuvamśa* 3, 46. Hence the sacrificial horse is prominently figured on the coin. The performer of Aśvamedha becomes a *samrāṭ* or suzereign sovereign over other rulers. Hence the goddess of Royal Fortune is shown *chaurī* in her hand waiting on the mighty emperor even as Kālidāsa would have it *padmā padmātapatreṇa bheje sāmrājyadīkshitam, Raghuvamśa* 4,5. This coin has a long history behind it as it is not a first innovation. It is itself based on similar earlier types. The Sātavāhanas were emperors in their own right. In the early Sātavāhana inscription of Śātakarṇī in the Nānāghāṭ cave he is described as the sacrificer of two *Aśvamedhas* giving sacrificial fees composed of a horse with silver trappings, twelve golden. . . . . 24000 *kārshāpaṇas*, a village. . .an elephant. . . milch cows, a cart for conveying a mountain of grain etc. *asamedho bitiyo yiṭho dakhiṇāyo dinā rūpalamkāro suvamna. . .ni 12 dakhiṇā dinā kahāpanā 240000 gamo 1 hathi dakhiṇā dinā gāvo... sakaṭam dhamnagiritamsapayutam. . . Arch. Sur. West Ind. V. p. 60.* In Ayodhyā inscription, Pushyamitra Śuṅga is credited with the performance of two *Aśvamedhas*: *dvir aśvamedhayājinaḥ senāpateḥ pushyamitrasya shashṭhena, Epigraph. Ind.* 20, p. 57. The Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions of the Ikshvāku king Siri Chantamūla mention the *Aśvamedha* among other sacrifices performed by him: *agihotāgiṭhomavājapeyāsamedhayājisa. . .ikhākusa sirichantamūlasa, Epigraph. Ind.* 20, p. 20. Pravarasena I, ancestor of Rudrasena, the consort of Prabhāvatīguptā, has a large variety of sacrifices including four *aśvamedhas: pravarapurād agnishṭomāptoryāmokthyaśoḍaśyatirātravājapeyabṛihas-*

patisavādyaskrachaturaśvamedhayājino vishṇuvṛiddhasagotrasya samrājo vākāṭakānām mahārāja śrīpravarasenasya, C. *Inscr. Ind.* 3, p. 236. The same inscription mentions the Bhāraśivas, connected with the Vākāṭakas by matrimony, as the performers of ten *aśvamedhas, daśāśvamedhāvabhṛitasnātānām bhāraśivānām,* C. *Inscr. Ind.* 3, p. 236. The Hirahadgalli Prākṛit grant of Śivaskandavarman brings in the early Pallavas among sacrificers of *Aśvamedha*: *kāñchīpurā aggitthomavājapeyassamedhayāji dhammamahārājādhirājo, Epigraph. Ind.* I. p. 5. The most remarkable find in recent excavations, inscribed sacrificial altar bricks from Kalsi, have one with a verse in Brāhmī letters of the third century A.D. mentioning four sacrifices performed by king Śīlavarman probably of the Yaudheyas in eastern Punjab, in Jagatgrām close to Dehra Dun, sixth in descent from king Pona, whose name is still fresh in the minds of that neighbourhood by the existence of an early medieval portrait statue in metal of king Pona in the Chambā area. The legend on the brick reads *nṛipater varshagaṇḍasya ponashashṭhasya dhīmataḥ chaturthasyāśvamedhasya chaityoyam Śīlavarmaṇaḥ J.O.R.* 21, p. 28. Kālidāsa is well aware of the sacrifices performed by the earliest Pāṇḍyas, of whom one was styled Palyāgaśālai Mudukuḍumi Peruvaḷudi long before the Kalabhra interregnum, and makes Sunandā describe the Pāṇḍya come for the *svayamvara* of Indumatī as one who had performed many sacrifices and eulogizes him as wet with the bath after *Aśvamedha* sacrifices, with Agastya himself to hail him after successful completion of each of them: *prītyāśvamedhāvabhṛitārdramūrtes sausnātiko yasya bhavatyagastyaḥ, Raghuvamśa* 6,61. The larger Sinnamannur plates mention that the early rulers of the Pāṇḍya family performed several *rājasūya* and *aśvamedha* sacrifices: *yatrotpannā rājasūyāśvamedhair ishṭvānekair devabhūyam prapannāḥ, S. Ind. Insc.* 3, p. 451. This is actually substantiated by the representation of the sacrificial horse on some of the earliest Pāṇḍyan coins (Fig. 79) of the second or third century A.D. Even so late as the thirteenth century when the great Sundara Pāṇḍya triumphed over the whole of South India, a copper issue with the horse and the royal umbrella shown above to signify his suzerainty was issued, though unfortunately the back of the legend prevents its definite attribution to a particular sovereign. But it is a Pāṇḍyan issue and Sundara Pāṇḍya who was the most distinguished has the best claim for such an ambitious position.

There are two coins of the Sātavāhanas one of Śrī Chandra Śātakarṇī and Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇī with the sacrificial horse of the *Aśvamedha* imprinted on them, the legend giving their names encircling the animal in each case (Fig. 80). The legends in the order of the kings named above are *raño siri chada satisa* (*Rapson* p. 32) and *raño gotamīputasa siri yaña satakamnisa* (*Rapson* p. 38). This last was the last great Śātakarṇī king and his empire was still to be reckoned. He hence could boast of this sacrifice and feel confident that he was not weak to be scattered, enabling his enemies to capture the horse, which could render his sacrifice, symbolic of empire, nullified, as the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* would put it: *rāshṭram vā āsvamedhaḥ parā va esha sichyate yobalo'śvamedhena yajate yad amitrā aśvam vinderan hanyetaśya yajñaḥ.*

Aśvamedha and *Rājasūya* were sacrifices that established the title of a sovereign to the position of a *samrāṭ* or emperor. This entitled the king to enjoy *ekachchhatra* or the only umbrella on earth, even as the poet has put it, that over his head alone was raised an umbrella, and by that umbrella of spotless lustre the affliction of the entire world on account of separation from the former kings was removed: *tasyaikasyochchhṛitam chhatram mūrdhni tenāmalatvishā pūrvarājaviyogaushmyam kṛitsnasya jagato hṛitam*, *Raghuvamśa* 17, 33.

Ambition at its highest in every king in ancient India has been to subdue all contemporary princes and rule an empire with a royal umbrella raised over his head alone, denying this privilege to every other prince. The ambition of sovereignty of a single parasol *ekachchhatrādhipatya* has caused all the wars that history records, and loss of life has been counted as nothing by kings and emperors in the achieving of this object. A prize so coveted should naturally be expected to be properly displayed. And how best can it be shown except as it is given on one of the Gupta coins? Chandragupta II, the great emperor, is shown standing and a *vāmana* dwarf attendant raises an umbrella over his head (Fig. 81). No greater significance can there be in this figure than that conveyed by Kālidāsa in his lines picturing a heroic scion of Raghu's race with arms long like the bolt of a city-gate enjoying the earth on which was raised only one single umbrella, or another in whom were combined sovereignty of the earth with only a single umbrella raised on him, the charm of youth and the splendour of beauty of form: *ekātapatrām bhuvam ekavīraḥ purārgalādīrghabhujo bubhoja, Raghuvamśa* 17, 4; *ekātapatram jagataḥ prabhutvam navam vayaḥ kāntam idam vapuś cha, Raghuvamśa* 2, 47.

The might and majesty of the sovereign as given in the line *sālaprāmśur mahābhujaḥ, Raghuvamśa* 1, 12, is sought to be conveyed with emphasis by showing the king standing, a *vāmana* attendant being specially chosen to lift so lofty a parasol, only for an effective contrast.

The idea of the single umbrella so appealed to so many subsequent sovereigns that along with the *chaurīs* or flywhisks this became the emblem of suzerainty for many great later emperors. On the coins of one of the greatest emperors of medieval India, Rājendra Choḷa, son of Rājarāja who was an equally great sovereign, is found the emblem of the Choḷas, the tiger, seated triumphantly with emblems of the two principal vanquished neighbours in front and behind, the bow of the Cheras and the fish of the Pāṇḍyas (Fig. 82). At the bottom is the Nāgarī legend *rajendraḥ* giving the name of the king. To the top is a parasol with flywhisks on either side. There are similar coins of Uttamachoḷa and Rājarāja. The importance of the parasol and flywhisks as royal emblems *par excellence* is quite clear in Kālidāsa's verse describing the generosity of a king who could refrain from giving away to the announcer of the sweet tidings of a long-awaited prince's birth only the royal umbrella, radiant like the moon, and the pair of flywhiks: *janāya śuddhāṅtacharāya śamsate kumārajanmāmṛitasammitākasharam adeyam āsīt trayam eva bhūpates śaśiprabham chhatram ubhe cha chāmare, Raghuvamśa* 3, 16.

The tiger is substituted by a boar in the case of the gold coins of Rājarāja, the Eastern Chāḷukyan king who was the daughter's son of Rājarāja Choḷa and son-in-law of Rājendra Choḷa whose daughter Ammaṇgā he married, and who was not slow in emulating the Choḷa expression of royal might (Fig. 83). The Pāṇḍyas also found this expression of sovereignty so satisfying to their sense of self-esteem that the umbrella and flywhisks were raised over the pair of fish, emblem of the Pāṇḍyas. During the time of the greatest of the later Pāṇḍyas, Sundara Pāṇḍya, in the thirteenth century, the parasol was raised over a horse signifying suzerainty established by a horse sacrifice like *Aśvamedha* or *Rājasūya.*

The dominion of a king on earth, however much a *dharmavijigīshu*, righteous victor, he may be, is only conquered by force. The ambition of man being unlimited, conquests lead on to further conquests. The next sphere of conquest after the subjugation of the earth is heaven. To occupy the seat of Indra as almost his equal was the desire that all great kings evinced in ancient India. Conquest of heaven was not possible by force. It was only by one's own good deeds and the performance of difficult sacrifices like the *Rājasūya* and *Aśvamedha*. Gupta coins abound in legends recording this great accomplishment of the king. The winning of heaven by good deeds is given in so many words. In the archer type of Samudragupta's coin it is *apratiratho vijyitya kshitim sucharitair divam jayati Cat. Ind. Coins, Gupta* p. 6, meaning having conquered the earth without an opponent, he wins heaven by his good deeds. The legend on the *chhatra* type of Chandragupta II is *kshitim avajitya sucharitair divam jayati vikramādityaḥ*, *Cat. Ind. Coins*, *Gupta* p. 35, which means 'Vikramāditya having conquered the earth wins heaven by good deeds'. Kumāragupta's swordsman type of coins give the legend *gām avajitya sucharitair divam jayati vikramādityaḥ*, *Cat. Ind. Coins*, *Gupta* p. 67 purporting that 'Vikramāditya having conquered the earth wins heaven by good deeds'. The legend differs however on his archer, horseman and other types: *vijitāvanir avanipatiḥ kumāragupto divam jayati*, *Cat. Ind. Coins*, *Gupta* p. 61 and *kshitipatir ajito vijayī kumāragupto divam jayati*, *Cat. Ind. Coins*, *Gupta*, p. 71 etc. respectively connoting 'king Kumāragupta, after conquering the earth, wins heaven' and 'king Kumāragupta, unconquered and victorious wins heaven.'

The idea of winning heaven is still present in these legends as well. In the verse from the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman *gāmevonmātum ūrdhvam vigaṇayitum iva jyotishām chakravālam nirdeshṭum mārgam uchchair diva iva sukṛitopārjitāyās svakīrteḥ tenākalpāntakālāvadhir avanibhujā śrīyaśodharmaṇāyam stambhas stambhābhirāmasthirabhujaparigheṇochchhritim nāyitotṛa*, *C.Inscr.Ind.*3, p. 147, the line *nirdeshṭum mārgam uchchair diva iva sukṛitopārjitāyās svakīrteḥ* suggesting the way up for his fame to reach heaven won by his good deeds is indeed a noble echo of this legend on Gupta coins. And the source of this legend by *sukṛita* or *sucharita* is clearly given in Kālidāsa's line *tasmin gate dyām sukṛitopalabdhām*, *Raghuvamśa* 18, 22. The term *karmabhiḥ* is sometimes used in the coin legends as on the Kācha type of Samudragupta's coins *kācho gām avajitya divam karmabhir uttamair jayati*, *Cat. Ind. Coins*, *Gupta* p. 15. This is found given in exactly the same manner in the line of Kālidāsa *kaumudvateyaḥ kumudāvadātair dyām ārjitām karmabhir āruroha*, *Raghuvamśa* 18, 3.

The ideal of the king in ancient India was not to live for himself but for the weal and welfare of his people. All his great qualities were for the good of others *sarve tasyāsan parārthaikaphalā guṇāḥ*, *Raghuvamśa* 1, 24, Thus he was a parent to his subjects who were almost his offspring: *sa pitā pitaras tāsām kevālam janmahetavaḥ*, *Raghuvamśa* 1, 24. The words used in India were *prajā* meaning offspring and *rājā* one who gladdened *tathaiva so'bhud anvartho rājā prakṛitirañjanāt*, *Raghuvamśa*, 4, 12. The king milked the earth of her resources to perform such sacrifices as would bring welfare for his subjects and, in turn, the celestials pleased, Indra sent timely showers to assure him agricultural prosperity; both the terrestrial and celestial lords thus exchanging their resources with a great good will: *dudoha gām sa yajñyāya sasyāya maghavā divam sampadvinimayenobhau dadhatur bhuvanadvayam*, *Raghuvamśa* 1, 26.

The king as a sacrificer, mainly for the good of his people, is shown prominently making offerings in the holy fire. This aspect of the king is indicated in the *chhatra* type of coin of Chandragupta II where the stress is more on the suzerainty of the sovereign who had made himself the sole enjoyer of the only umbrella on earth. The king is making offerings in the fire with three flames leaping up from the fire altar, *dakshiṇāgni*, *āhavanīyāgni* and *gārhapatyāgni*. The inspirers of this motif, the earlier coins of the Kushāṇas like Kanishka (Fig. 84), Huvishka and Vāsudeva, show only this aspect of the king as a sacrificer, introducing to us an interesting chapter in history where the foreign Scythians, completely acclimatized to Hindu religion and ritual, take a pride in performing Vedic sacrifices, apart from their indicating their mind towards deities which include Hindu, both Brahmanical and Buddhist, Iranian and Greek, a rare spirit of assimilation of ideas and ideals.

On the coins of Chandragupta I there is a rare representation, the king and queen together on the obverse (Fig. 85). It is usually the king that is shown and the imprinting of the queen's figure is rather rare. There are instances known but of very rare occurrence. Hermaios, the last of the Indo-Greek kings, has a special silver issue showing the bust of his queen Kalliope along with his on the obverse. It is interesting that Kumāragupta revived the practice of showing the king and queen on the coin which was continued by Skandagupta also. This type however is so rare that there is only one known of Kumāragupta from the Bayana hoard, though there are a few of Skandagupta that have survived.

Chandragupta I took pride in his Lichchhavi alliance and the princess of that family that gave him dignity was pictured along with him on his coin. The legends give both their names. On the reverse is Lakshmī with her feet resting on lotus, carrying the cornucopia or the horn of plenty, and seated on lion signifying thereby that she is on a *simhāsana* and is Rājyalakshmī. Here in the concept of Rājyalakshmī is a fusion of Śrī, goddess of Fortune and Bhū, goddess of the Earth making up Rājyaśrī or Royal Fortune. In her right hand is a noose the instrument of *daṇḍa* or power, enabling punishment where required, and in her left the cornucopia, the receptacle of *kośa* or treasure and remind us of Kālidāsa's description of Kshiti or Pṛithvī as producing a full treasure and army complete in every respect in the context of Sītā's giving birth to Kuśa and Lava: *sutāvasūta sampannau kośadaṇḍāviva kshitiḥ, Raghuvamśa* 15, 13. The coin as a whole is in the fullest sense intended to convey the spirit of Kālidāsa's ideal of the principal queens of a king, who considered himself truly wedded only by his noblest anointed queen and the goddess of Royal Fortune, though his harem abounded in damsels: *kalatravantam ātmānam avarodhe mahatyapi tayā mene manasvinyā lakshmyā cha vasudhādhipaḥ, Raghuvamśa* 1, 32. The principal queen and the lady of Royal Fortune are clearly represented on the coin, one on the obverse and the other on the reverse. The queen in flesh and blood being the *manasvinī* is shown in close contact with the king being present on the same side opposite him. In the king and queen type of coin of Skandagupta this is repeated except that Lakshmī on the reverse is seated on a lotus in this case and carries the lotus in her left hand instead of the cornucopia, which does not alter the sense in any way, as the lotus symbolizes the *Padmanidhi*, the most important of the nine principal treasures.

Yet another coin introduces a third consort for the king. It is a gold coin from Jessore (Fig. 86) which has not been definitely attributed to any Gupta monarch and is tenatively given under the coins of Śaśāṅka. It bears very interesting figures on both the obverse and reverse and on the latter the legend *narendrāditya.* On the obverse the king is shown seated on a lion throne attended by a damsel on either side. On the reverse goddess Lakshmī stands with lotus in her hand and surrounded by lotuses in bud and bloom beside her; in front of her near her feet is a swan. To correctly understand this coin one has to remember Kālidāsa's verse giving Sunandā's description of the prince of Aṅga who was at once the abode of the goddess of Prosperity and of Learning *nisargabhinnāspadam ekasamstham asmin dvayam śrīścha sarasvatī cha kāntyā girā sūnṛitayā cha yogyā tvam eva kalyāṇi tayos tritīyā, Raghuvamśa* 6, 29. The presence of Sarasvatī and Lakshmī together is so rare and difficult that the poet of the Khajuraho inscription of Dhaṅgadeva expresses amazement that Chandella Harsha should combine in himself such opposites: *yatra śris cha sarasvatī cha sahite. . . tasyānantaguṇasya vismayanidheḥ kim nāma vastu stumaḥ, Epigraph. Ind.* 1, p. 122f. The reverse explains the second half of Kālidāsa's verse wherein Sunandā asks princess Indumatī to be his third spouse along with the other two goddesses as she was well fitted by her sweet address and beauty of form. The lotuses and the swan symbolize beauty and sweet address: and through the figure of the goddess there is the suggestion that the form of the queen is comparable to the goddess of Royal Fortune herself.

In this context Kālidāsa aptly remarks that Śrī and Sarasvatī who usually dwell apart have come together in the case of the gifted prince. That is how the queen could be a third to them. The idea of an accomplished prince basking in the sunshine of royal prosperity is used to advantage by Bāṇa who describes Harshavardhana eulogizingly as being the abode of the two goddesses, to whom he has apportioned their spheres by a boundary line, formed as it were, by the pearl necklace on his neck indicating the face or rather the mouth as Sarasvatī, seat of learning, the broad chest being the sphere of Lakshmī or Royal Prosperity: *śri sarasvatyor urovadanopabhogavibhāgasūtreṇeva pātitena śesheṇeva cha tadbhujastambhavinyastasamastabhūbhāralabdhaviśrāntisukhaprasuptena hāradaṇḍena parivalitakandharam, Harshacharita* 2, p.73. The prince seated on the lion throne flanked by the two goddesses wears a pearl necklace exactly answering this description.

A unique coin of Chandragupta II, of which only one example was found in the Bayana hoard, is an excellent example of a numismatic commentary on the emperorhood of the Guptas. It shows the emperor receiving three pellets from the *purusha* on the *chakra*, Sudarśana, the wheel of Kṛishṇa personifiied (Fig 87). Here again it is a suggestion of the suzerain king receiving the blessing of emperorhood from the Sudarśana *chakra*. The three *śaktis*, most important for a king, are the essentials that build up his power and majesty. They are great *sampattis*. The birth of Raghu in all his glory is described by Kālidāsa as the reassurance of *sampatti* of Rājyalakshmī or royal Prosperity. The *śaktis* are *prabhu*, *mantra* and *utsāha*: *asūta putram samaye śachīsamā trisādhanā śaktir ivārtham akshayam*, *Raghuvamśa* 3,13. The three pellets offered by the *Chakrapurusha* are these.

One of the greatest medieval emperors who was styled *sakaladakshiṇāpatheśvara*, contemporary of Harshavardhana who was *uttarāpatheśvara*, was Puḷakeśin who by his abundance in the three *śaktis prabhu*, *mantra* and *utsāha* conquered and reestablished the kings in all directions, adored the gods and learned *dvijas* and ruled from his city of Vātāpī the entire earth with the ocean as its moat: *utsāhaprabhumantraśaktisahite yasmin samastā diśo jitvā bhūmipatīn visṛijya mahitān arādhya devadvijān vātāpīm nagarīm praviśya nagarīm ekām ivorvīm imām chañchannīradhinīlanīraparikhām satyāśraye śāsati*, *Epigraph. Ind.* 6 p. 6.

The legend on the reverse of the coin is *chakravikrama* which is pregnant with meaning in the context of Chandragupta's vast empire and power. The *Ahirbudhnya Samhitā* as Agrawala has pointed out (*J.S.S. I.* 16, p. 97-101) assures the status of an emperor to one that worships *Chakra purusha*: *asya chakrasya madhye yad vartate purushaḥ paraḥ tasmānnigadyate loke chakravartīti sūribhiḥ tasmād abhyarchayed etat yo rājā bhaktisamyutaḥ śochireṇaiva kālena chakrāvartitvam āpnuyāt*, *Ahirbudhnya Samhitā* 36, 23-25.

In the context of the *chakra* and the so-called Ujjain symbol indicating the conquest of the earth up to the shores of the four oceans, enabling the victor to set in motion his wheel of power as *chakravartin*, exactly like the ideal mythical emperor Māndhātā, ahead of whom ever moved the *chakra* from one *dvīpa* to another according to the *Mandhātu jātaka* up to heaven itself, *mandhātā chakkaratnam abbhukkiritvā attano parisāya parivito tāvātimsābhimukho pāyāsi*, the die-struck rectangular copper coin of Sujyeshṭha, third king of the Śuṅga family (Fig. 64) from the Ajit Ghose collection is interesting (*J.N.S.I.* 16, p. 59-60). On the obverse is shown the king riding a prancing horse preceded by one holding a *gharghari* or water vessel. On the top between the Ujjain symbol and an eight-petalled lotus-shaped *chakra* is a Brāhmī legend *sujeṭhasa* in characters of the second century B.C. On the reverse is a graceful figure of *Gajalakshmī* standing on lotus, holding a lotus in her right hand and bathed by a pair of elephants bringing to our mind *niyujyamānā cha gajais suhastā lakshmīs tathā padmini padmahastā*, *Rāmāyaṇa* 5,7,14. The line of the *Śrisūkta*, *lakshmīr divyair gajendrair maṇigaṇakhachitais snāpitā hemakumbhair nityam sā padmahastā mama vasatu gṛihe sarvamāṅgalyayuktā* is also admirably answered. In the *Jātaka* there was always one who led the way as the wheel moved. The generosity of the *dharmavijayī* emperor who was free from greed and gave lavishly establishing opposing kings in greater pomp after vanquishing them is all conveyed by the monarch on horseback with the attendant holding water vessel preceding him, the water vessel for pouring water on the donee's palm to solemnize every gift made.

There is a category of coins that reveals the personality of the sovereign. The special qualities and accomplishments in which the prince prided are stressed individually in each variety of coins. Princes were given a liberal education in literature and all the fine arts like music, dance, painting, sculpting. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* Rāma is described as well-versed in *vaihārika śilpas* and as an adept in music: *vaihārikāṇām śilpānām vettā*, *Rāmāyaṇa* 2, 1, 27; *gāndharve cha bhuvi śreshṭhaḥ*, *Rāmāyaṇa* 2, 12, 35. The word *vaihārika śilpa* connotes the sense of hobby, an art for amusing oneself. It was also called *vinodasthāna*. Dushyanta remarks that the *vinodasthāna*, the picture of Śakuntalā painted by him, is only half done: *ardhalikhitam idam vinodasthānam asmābhiḥ*, *Abhijñanaśākuntalam* 6. In the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* Chārudatta remarks that the lyre is a gem but only it is not from the ocean: *vīṇā hi nāmāsamudrotthitam ratnam, Mṛichchhakaṭika* 1. It is a *vinodasthāna* as it beguiles the mind. In the *Kathāsaritsāgara* is the description of Naravāhanadatta playing the harp as his consort the princess danced. A greater musician than Udayana is unknown to Sanskrit literature. Mahendravarman was an adept in music and his Kuḍimiāmalai inscription reveals this, as also his titles like *saṅkīrnajāti, chitrakārapuli, mattavilāsa* and *vichitrachitta* proclaiming his proficiency respectively in music, painting, poetic skill and versatile accomplishments. Harsha mentions himself an accomplished poet *śrīharsho nipuṇaḥ kaviḥ parishad apyeshā guṇagrāhiṇī Nāgānanda* 1, 3. In the Girnār inscription the accomplishment of Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman in literature, music and other noble arts is mentioned: *śabdārthagāndharvanyāyādyānām vidyānām mahatīnām pāraṇadhāraṇavijñānaprayogāvāptavipulakīrtinā rudradāmnā* (*Epigraph. Ind.* 8, p. 36f) In the famous Allāhābād inscription of Śamudragupta, the great emperor's proficiency in music is described as putting to shame the preceptor of the celestial king, Tumburu, Nārada and others by his keen trained intellect, and subtle variations in musical modes: *niśitavidagdhamatigāndharvalalitair vrīḍitatridaśapatigurutumburunāradādeḥ, C. Inscr. Ind.* 3, p. 8.

This is substantiated by the picture on the obverse of the lyrist type of coin of Samudragupta (Fig. 88) where the king is shown seated on a couch with the lyre in his lap, his fingers thrumming the strings of the instruments, and legend clearly giving his name *mahārājādhirājaśrīsamudraguptaḥ*. The lyre resting on the king's lap does certainly recall Kālidāsa's verse: *aṅkam aṅkaparivartanochite tasya ninyatur aśūnyatām ubhe vallakī cha hṛidayaṅgamasvanā valguvāg api cha vāmalochanā, Raghuvamśa* 19, 13. Kumāragupta emulated his grandfather in this and his lyrist coin, a rare one found in the Bayana hoard, is interesting.

On the couch type of coin of Chandragupta II, the king is shown seated on a couch with a lotus in his right hand, the left resting on the seat, one leg tucked up and the other resting on the bejewelled footstool. (Fig. 89). The legend *rūpākṛiti* given below the couch is very significant as it emphasises his beauty. The main legend gives him as Chandragupta II, *devaśrīmahārājādhirāja śrī chandraguptasya*. No better picture can be found to answer the description of the sportive prince, prince charming, with the lotus in his hand. The lotus in his hand and his leisurely attitude symbolize his aesthetic taste and his life of ease and pleasure.

To understand this we have only to turn to the description of one of the lovely princes assembled at the *svayamvara* of Indumatī, who gently turns a sportive lotus held in his hand by its long stalk, its moving petals warding off the bees around and its pollen inside *kaśchid karābhyām upagūḍhanālam ālolapatrābhihatadvirepham rajobhir antaḥ pariveshabandhi lilāravindam bhramayāṃchakāra*, *Raghuvamśa* 6, 13. This was almost to indicate to the princess his sportive spirit and aesthetic taste.

Every prince in India was a trained warrior and a fearless sportsman. We know of how Ulysses, so fond of hunting, was gored by a boar and bore a scar through which, even when he was in disguise when back home after ever so long, he could be recognized by his aged nurse.

A graphic description of Daśaratha's hunt in the *Raghuvamśa* and of Chandrāpīḍa in the *Kādambarī* are classical examples. There is a picturesque account of the special dress of the prince in green, even his hair tied up with a sylvan garland, which so camouflaged him to throw the wild animals off their scent: *grathitamaulir asau vanamālayā tarupalāśasavarṇatanuchchadaḥ*, *Raghuvamśa* 9, 51. The king, as the poet puts it, lightened the head of the rhinoceros by cutting and relieving it of its horn, and being gracious even allowed it to run away, as he was unable to endure the towering horn of a proud opponent whom he would just subdue without any intention on his span of life: *prāyo vishāṇaparimokshalaghūttamāṅgān khaḍgāmśchakāra nṛipatir niśitaiḥ kshurapraiḥ śṛiṅgam sa dṛiptavinayādhikṛitaḥ pareshām atyuchchhritam na mamṛishe na tu dīrgham āyuḥ*, *Raghuvamśa* 9, 62. The attitude of the hunting prince bent forward from his horse as he engaged the wild animal is also again given vividly in a revealing line *tam vāhanād avanatottarakāyam īshad vidhyantam uddhatasaṭāḥ pratihantum īshuḥ*, *Raghuvamśa* 9, 60.

When studied with the vivid description in mind the *khaḍga* coin of Kumāragupta (Fig. 90), a rare issue found in the Bayana hoard, fully reveals its import where the royal hunter has the forepart of his body bent as he attacks the rhino that turns back to face his opponent cutting his horn. The legend *bhartā khaḍgatrātā kumāragupto jayatyaniśam*, *Cat. Gupta Coins, Bayana Hoard*, p. 296. is equally illuminating. *Khaḍgatrātā* does not mean protecting from the rhino. The rhinoceros is not so potential a danger to his subjects that it should be so understood. It is rather the sense of his cutting only its horn and allowing it to live, though he is a hunting, that is as Kālidāsa has put it, just symbolic of his destroying the pride of his foes with no intent on their life. Apart from the praise of the prince as an able sportsman it individually proclaims him a subduer of the proud but a benevolent restorer of territory and giver of a long lease of life to the humbled ones. The region of the rhino, Assam and eastern India is indicated as subdued and included in his empire, a subtle suggestion.

On the reverse is imprinted the form of personified Gaṅgā standing on her vehicle, the *makara*, with her right hand in *abhaya* and with an attendant woman holding up a *chhatra* or umbrella for her as it is held for the king in the *chhatra* type of coin of Chandragupta II. This is again very significant. The king suggests his empire extended up to the region of Assam by the representation of the rhino on the obverse. The figure of Gaṅgā shows his pride and joy in bringing under his sway the entire region of the Gaṅgā beyond which comes Assam. The hand of the river goddess in *abhaya* shows the emperor's attitude towards Gaṅgā as to a mother. We have to bring to our mind the feeling of Rāma approaching Sarayū mentioning her as the common mother of all the children of their riverine area : *yām saikatotsaṅganiveśitānām prājyaiḥ payobhiḥ parivardhitānām sāmānyadhātrīm iva mānasam me sambhāvayatyuttarakosalānām*, *Raghuvamśa*, 13, 62. As she is almost a mother, nourishing the children of the soil on her dunes with an abundance of water (*payobhiḥ*) like a mother her child on her lap with abundant breast-milk, the river-fed area is called *nadīmātṛika*. Amarasiṁha clearly defines *deśo nadyambuvṛishṭyambusampannavrīhipālitaḥ syānnadīmātṛiko devamātṛikaścha yathākramam*, *Amarakośa* 2, 1, 13. Another emperor who brought abundant water of Gaṅgā to his capital to justify his title *Gaṅgaikoṇḍa* similarly expressed his joy by the issue of a commemorative coin with the title he assumed *Gaṅgaikoṇḍa* spelt on it.

The well known silver coin of Mihira Bhoja of the Gurjara Pratīhāra family (Fig. 91), with the boar incarnation of Vishṇu imprinted on the reverse and with the legend *śrimadādivarāha* on the obverse, is interesting, when we find that the king compared himself to Vishṇu himself and assumed the title of *Ādivarāha*, satisfied that he upheld the earth just like Varāha. The Kushāṇa king Kaḍphises II, who compared himself and even identified himself with Śiva, represented on his coin, reveals the extent to which fondness to glorify oneself could go. It is no wonder Bāṇa laughs at kings or princes, flattered by sycophants, that imagine themselves to be the very celestials named and look for the additional pair of arms as somewhere hidden inside their shoulders : *manasā devatādhyāropaṇād asadbhūtāsambhāvanopahatās chāntaḥpravishṭāparabhujadvayam ivātmabāhuyugalam sambhāvayanti*, *Kādambarī*, p. 178. But the idea of kings emulating Varāha was all the time present. That is how the Guptas, great devotees of Vishṇu, sought to represent the most monumental sculpture of Varāha at Udayagiri at the heyday of their power. There are many allusions to Varāha lifting up Pṛithvī and the kings succeeding in acting exactly like him in delivering the earth almost from a deluge. Even rescuing of Sītā from Rāvaṇa is so compared : *tām iśvareṇa jagatām pralayād ivorvīm varshātyayena rucham abhraghanād iṇvendoḥ rāmeṇa maithilasutām daśakaṇṭhakṛichchhrāt pratyuddhṛitām dhṛitimatīm bharato vavande*, *Raghuvamśa* 13, 77. Udayāditya, that succeeded Paramāra Bhoja, when the kingdom was overrun by floods as it were, in which the sovereign was submerged and delivered the earth again from the mighty ocean of troublous kings, and Karṇa aided by the Karṇāṭas that lorded over for a while, did indeed act like the Varāha: *tasmin vāsavabandhutām upagete rājye cha kulyākule magnasvāmini tasya bandhur udayādityobhavad bhūpatiḥ yenoddhṛitya mahārṇavopamamilatkarṇāṭakarṇaprabhum urvīpālakadarthitām bhuvam imām śrīmadvarāhāyitam*, *Epigraph. Ind.* 2, p. 185.

On the 16th of February 1515 a beautiful image of seated Bālakṛishṇa in greenish black granite was installed in a temple specially built for it by Kṛishṇadevarāya at Hampi, his capital. It was a trophy brought from Udayagiri near Nellore after his victory over the Gajapati. A lengthy inscription has recorded this great event. The famous king Kṛishṇarāya conquered Udayagiri and from there tactfully brought away to his city an image of the deity Kṛishṇa and consecrated it in a jewelled *maṇḍapa* according to Śāstraic rules in the year Bhava, (corresponding to) Saka 1436. Hail Prosperity. In the prosperous Śālivāhana Śaka 1436, the year Bhava, on Friday the third day of the bright fortnight of the month of Phālguna Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparameśvara Śrī Vīrapratāpa Śrī Vīra Kṛishṇarāya Mahārāja brought victoriously from Udayagiri and consecrated the image of Śṛī Bālakṛishṇa. At the time of the consecration he presented it with a variety of jewels inlaid with the nine kinds of gems and other articles (vessels) in silver and gold. For the worship of the deity, for waving of lamps, offering of fruits, cakes and other daily offerings, Pañchaparva car festival and offerings for Brāhmaṇas, for *aṅgaraṅgavibhoga*, the following villages are given, *S. Ind. Inscr. No. 254, 255 soyam śrīvarakṛishṇarāyanṛipatir jitvodayādrim tataḥ kṛishṇam devam upāyatas svanagarīm nītvā maṇīmaṇṭape śālīyābdarasāgnivedavidhuyugbhāve tavasye site tārtīye divase vṛishepi vṛidhivat paushṇe pratishṭhām vyadhāt*, *S. Ind. Inscr.* 4, p. 47.

The historic image dug out of the debris of the temple and now in the Madras Museum can be understood in all its significance only through this long contemporary record and the empty ruined Kṛishṇa temple at Udayagiri itself whence it was brought.

But there is another and more interesting evidence of the genuineness of this find. A gold coin with this Bālakṛishṇa's figure imprinted on it (Fig. 92) and with the legend giving his name *pratāpa kṛishṇarāya* was issued by the emperor for distribution on that occasion and later several reprints of it have been issued. For a long time the figure on this coin was wrongly identified as Durgā and it was styled *durgi* pagoda. The inscription that mentions the circumstances of the consecretion of the image and the complete figure of Bālakṛishṇa on the coin compared with the image with broken arms reveals the identity of both the coin and the sculpture.

There are two rare gold coins of Akbar. One shows a hawk on the obverse with ornamental design all around (Fig. 93) and the *ilāhi* year, the divine epoch of Akbar, on the reverse reading, *Allāhu Akbar 45 Isfandarmeez Ilāhi Zarb Azir*. This is a rare innovation in Muslim coinage where so far there had been no portrayal of bird, animal or portrait of man. The hawk is only a symbol of Akbar's passion for hunting. Abu-l-Fazl has recorded in his *Āin-i-Akbarī* any number of hunting expeditions of Akbar where he had bravely fought tigers, lions, cheetas, elephants, buffaloes, not to talk of the lesser denizens of the forest. Akbar's fondness for hawks and hawk-hunting has also been faithfully recorded by Abu-l-Fazl. He says 'His Majesty is very fond of the remarkable animals, and often uses them for hunting purposes. Though he trains the *baz*, *shahen*, *shungar* and *burkat* falcons, and makes them perform wonderful deeds, His Majesty prefers the *basha*, to which class of hawks he gives various names' (*Āin-i-Akbarī* p. 304). After describing at length the special attention paid by the emperor to these varieties of the hunting bird, Abu-l-Fazl explains that 'His Majesty, from motives of generosity and from a wish to add splendour to his Court, is fond of hunting with falcons, though superficial observers think that merely hunting is his object' (*Āin-i Akbarī* p. 305). He goes on to elaborate the department of huntsmen engaged for this, their pay and food, allowances, prices of falcons and so on. The representation of the hawk on the coin is to be understood in a suggestive sense of the emperor's general enthusiasm for hunting and not just hawk-hunting, as the hawk itself as a symbol of hunting added splendour to the Court as Abu-l-Fazl puts it.

The coin showing the duck (Fig. 94), an equally interesting and beautiful one aesthetically, shows as in the earlier one the bird on the obverse in an ornamental field and the *ilāhi* year on the reverse reading *Allāhu Akbar 50 Khurdad Ilāhi Zarb Agrah*. Akbar was as we know from the *Āin-i-Akbarī* the most appreciative of God's creation. In fact he justifies his encouragement of artists against the accepted orthodox forbidding of imitating the forms of God's creation. His plea has been wonderfully put by Abu-l-Fazl 'One day at a private party of friends, His Majesty, who had conferred on several the pleasure of drawing near him remarked: 'There are many that hate painting; but such men I dislike. It appears to me as if a painter had quite a peculiar means of recognising God; for a painter in sketching anything that has life, and in devising its limbs, one after the other, must come to feel that he cannot bestow individuality upon his work, and is thus forced to think of God, the giver of life, and will thus increase in knowledge' (*Āin-i-Akbarī* p. 115).

It is seen thus that he appreciated the best work done of birds, animals, even plants and flowering shrubs. The duck, the hawk, the elephant, the goat and several other birds and animals have been portrayed by the famous galaxy of painters in the Court of Akbar and Jehāngir. The duck is only a symbol of the emperor's appreciation of painting from nature.

Jehāngir has a type of gold coin that is unparalleled in Muslim coinage. It has a portrait of his (Fig. 95,96). It is not only one, but the type has been issued in more than one form. One variety shows the emperor's bust in profile, another almost facing the spectator, and a third again in profile but more elaborate and up to the waist in a square frame in the circular coin. The emperor here holds a wine cup. It is not surprising that Jehāngir had issued this. It correctly represents him as a candid and truthful monarch who made no pretence of what he was not. It is indeed touching to read the frank confessions of a monarch so good as to admit his weakness for drink and his attempt to overcome the passion at least to an extent.

In his *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngirī*, the emperor says he has given twelve orders to be observed as rules of conduct in all his dominions. The fifth of these is 'they should not make wine or rice spirit (*dilbahra*) 'exhilarating drink,' or any kind of intoxicating drug or sell them; although I myself drink wine, and from the age of eighteen years till now, when I am thirtyeight, have persisted in it, when I first took a liking to drinking, I sometimes took as much as twenty cups of double-distilled spirit, when by degrees it acquired a great influence over me. I endeavoured to lessen the quantity, and in the period of seven years I have brought myself from fifteen cups to five or six. My times for drinking were varied; sometimes when three or four sidereal hours of the day remained I would begin to drink, and sometimes at night and partly by day. This went on till I was thirty years old. After that I took to drinking always at night. Now I drink only to digest my food.'

The other and the most spectacular series of coins issued by Jehāngir is the Zodiacal ones (Fig. 97). We know from *Akbar Nāma* that Akbar had great faith in stars. The planetary position at the time of the birth of Akbar and also at the time of his ascension to the throne is elaborately discussed by Abu-l-Fazl. Similarly the auspicious moment of the birth of Jehāngir has been elaborated. It is no wonder that born under such influences Jehāngir took a delight in glorifying the signs of the zodiac during the twelve months as the Sun moved from one to another and in a way extolled the *ilāhi* started by his father. These are also, as examples of art, aesthetically perfect. As a great patron of art it is not at all a wonder that Jehāngir envisaged the form of each one of the zodiacal signs. The zodiacal sign against the radiating solar disc on each of the twelve varieties, the lion and the rising sun on the reverse of the portrait type (Fig. 96) are superb examples of numismatic excellence in aesthetic representation.

CHAPTER THREE

INSCRIPTIONS

One of the most important and probably the most exact in information for reconstructing the history of India is the study of inscriptions. Fortunately India abounds in inscriptions, considerable material has already been brought to light and so much more is still being unearthed and studied. In spite of the titanic effort to save the inscriptions on one hand, there is on the other an ignorant destructive agency lacking a kindly understanding that mostly unwittingly contributes to the disappearance and disintegration and often even the annihilation of these valuable records. While iconoclastic vandalism has claimed a heavy toll of most valuable inscriptions, the tragedy of pious renovation has not in any small measure undone the loving labour of ancient monarchs to hand down recorded history in inscriptions to remote generations. A striking example of this is the last surviving pillar, from among twelve of a *Sūryamaṇḍapa* from Kāñchīpuram, recording the *Sūryaśataka* of Mayūra in Choḷa Grantha letters of the tenth century A.D., that was broken and utilized by the ignorant temple trustees as building material. The small cost of purchasing an extra slab or two may have been saved, but at tremendous cost to archaeology and history.

Inscriptions throw light on the life of sovereigns, the people over whom they ruled, the culture of the period, the ideals and aspirations after which every one strove. They supplement, or are supplemented by, information from literary and other sources, help locate ancient sites, give a peep into the prosperity or peril that characterised certain periods of history, introduce to us the philosophic thought, religious faith, toleration or bigotry, charitable tendencies, respect for learning and care of universities, maintenance of hospitals, charitable institutions and the like.

To take an example. An inscription is early Mauryan letters found in the village of Mahāsthāngarh in Bogra District in Bengal in 1931 gives a splendid picture of the measure taken at that early date by the State to battle famine (Fig. 98). The inscription which reads: *nena samvangīyānam galadanasa dumadina mahāmāte sulakhite puḍanagalate etam nivahipayisati samvangīyānam cha dine tathā dhāniyam nivahisati damgātiyāyike devātiyāyikasi suatiyāyikasi pi gamḍakehi dhāniyikehi esa koṭhāgāle kosam bharanīye* means 'to Galadana (Galardana) of the Saṁvaṅgīyas (was granted) by order. The Mahāmātra from the highly auspicious Puṇḍranagara will cause it to be carried out. (And likewise) paddy has been granted to the Saṁvaṅgīyas. The outbreak (of distress) in the town during (this) outburst of superhuman agency shall be tided over. When there is excess of plenty, this granary and the treasury (may be replenished) with paddy and *gaṇḍaka* coins,' *Epigraph. Ind.* 21, p. 83-91. There is variation in the interpretation of this interesting inscription by scholars like Bhandarkar and Barua, but it is clear from all accounts that provision was made for tiding over distress caused by famine, and the version of Bhandarkar given above seems to be more acceptable than that of provision for a particular community in a restricted sense in the phase of famine that affected the entire population.

The provision of the State for the issue of food was a great and important responsibility. The *Arthaśāstra* enjoins that during a famine, the king may show favour by giving gratis seeds (*bījas*) and food (*bhakta*). He may either carry out work in forts and on dams with a distribution of food, or he may distribute food gratis without extracting work: *durbhikshe rājā bhaktopagraham kṛitvānugraham kuryāt. durgasetukarma vā bhaktānugraheṇa bhaktasamvibhāgam vā, Arthaśāstra* 4, 3, 78.

Rarely inscriptions reveal the personality of a king as in the simple, direct and truthful utterances of Aśoka as we can see in his edicts. Aśoka's childlike simplicity is revealed in his plain statement of facts about ration in his kitchen. The slaughter of animal and fowl which was originally done on a large scale was reduced to that of a single deer as he had almost tabooed venison; peacock killing was reduced to the minimum, only two being allowed at the time the edict was incised; and the emperor declared his wish that he would give up even this: *pura mahanasasi devanapiyasa priyadasisa raño anudivaso bahuni praṇaśatasahasani arabhisu supaṭhaye. so idani yada aya dhammalipi likhita tada trayo vo praṇa hañjanti majura duvi mugo, so mugo no dhruvam, eta pi praṇa trayo pacha na arabhiśanti, C. Inscr. Ind.* 1, p. 51.

We can imagine what a sacrifice this signifies on the part of the emperor if only we read the Sundarakāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* where the different viands and liquors are graphically described in Rāvaṇa's kitchen almost causing the mouth of those accustomed to these to water: *sarvakāmair upetām cha pānabhūmim mahātmanaḥ dadarśa kapiśārdūlas tasya rakshaḥpater gṛihe mṛigāṇām mahishāṇām cha varāhāṇām cha bhāgaśah tatra nyastāni māmsāni pānabhūmau dadarśa saḥ raukmeshu cha viśāleshu bhājaneshvardhabhakshitān dadarśa kapiśārdūlo mayūrān kukkuṭānstathā varāhavārdhrāṇasakān dadhisauvarchalāyutān śalyān mṛigamayūrāmścha hanumān anvavaikshata krakarān vividhān siddhānśchakorān ardhabhakshitān lehyān uchchāvachān peyān bhojyāni vividhāni cha tathāmlalavaṇottamsair vividhai rāgashāḍabaiḥ, Rāmāyaṇa* 5, 11, 12-17, and how praiseworthy for one accustomed to such luxuries to voluntarily lead the simple life of an anchorite.

One can never visit Udayagiri near Bhilsa, ancient Vidiśā, without first having a look at one of the earliest antiquities in that region, the Garuḍa column of Heliodorus (Fig. 99). It has an inscription that mentions how it was erected for Vāsudeva, the god of gods, by Heliodorus, a Greek from Taxila, son of Dion and a *Bhāgavata* or devotee of Vishṇu, who had come as an ambassador from the great king Antialkidas to king Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra in his fourteenth regnal year: *devadevasa vāsudevasa garuḍadhvaje ayam kārite va heliodoreṇa bhāgavatena diyasa putreṇa takhasilākena yonadūtena āgatena mahārājasa antialikitasa upamtā sakāsam raño kāsīputrasa bhāgabhadrasa trātārasa vaseṇa chatudasemnā rājena vadhamānasa*, Rapson's *Ancient India* p. 157.

This is in itself interesting, revealing as it does the faith of a Greek in the *Bhāgavata* creed, and his setting up a pillar (*dhvajastambha*) so long ago as the beginning of the second century B.C.

Recent excavations at the place have revealed the remains of an ancient circular shrine of Vāsudeva. We may recall that here we found the famous *kalpadruma* and *makara* capitals, one of either Kubera or Lakshmī and the other of Kāmadeva, both of the second century B.C. There was also a *tāladhvaja* capital, obviously of Balarāma, found. All these clearly prove the popularity of temples of Vāsudeva Saṅkarshaṇa, Dhanada and Kāma or Pradyumna. Patañjali's mention of temples of these, *prāsāde dhanapatirāma keśavānām* is answered. An early image of Saṅkarshaṇa of the second century B.C. in the Lucknow Museum indicates the type of image worshipped in such temples.

But more important than even this inscription is another small one on the same pillar. It gives what are mentioned as the immortal precepts, *amṛita padāni*, *dama*, *tyāga* and *apramāda*, self-restraint, sacrifice and alertness which when practised lead to heaven : *trīni amutapadāni su anuṭhitāni nayamti svaga dama cāga apramāda.*

But wherefrom are these three immortal precepts ? To understand them and their source we have to peep into the Udyoga parva of the *Mahābhārata* where Sanatsujāta, the learned eternally young sage, gives sage advice to Dhṛitarāshṭra. It is during this discourse that he mentions *dama*, *tyāga* and *apramāda* as the receptacles of immortality and the wise seers know them emanating from truth that precedes them all : *damas tyāgo' apramādas cha eteshvamṛitam āhitam tāni satyamukhānyāhur brāhmaṇā ye manīshiṇaḥ*, *Mahābhārata* 5,48,14. This gives us the source of this early precept on a pillar and incidentally also shows how so early as at the beginning of the second century B.C. the text of the *Mahābhārata* was revered and quoted.

A small terracotta of the 2nd century B.C. found at the ancient site of Srughna in the vicinity of Chaṇḍigarh and now in the National Museum shows a small boy seated with a board in his hand with the letters of the vowels of the Brāhmī alphabet repeated five times in five parallel vertical columns (Fig. 100), *National Museum Bulletin* 2, p. This is a unique example, as it shows how the tradition of introducing the child to the alphabet when very young, by writing the letters on a black wooden board, so that they could be copied faithfully several times over to practice and develop excellent calligraphic quality of writing, has continued almost till our day. The picture of the child holding the *phalaka* with letters drawn on it and consulting the master is given in the *Lalitavistara* : *atha bodhisattva uragasārachandanamayam lipiphalakam ādāya divyavarṇakam suvarṇatirakam samantānmaṇiratnapratyuptam viśvāmitram āchāryam evam āha katamam me bho upādhyāya lipim śikshayasi*, *Lalitavistara* p. 88. That the learning of the *lipi* at a very tender age is the essential forerunner of a plunge into a deep study of literature is beautifully compared to entering the ocean through the mouth of a river after advancing steadily towards it through the stream : *sa vṛittachūlas chalakākapakshakair amātyaputrais savayobhir anvitaḥ liper yathāvadgrahaṇeṇa vāṅmayam nadīmukheneva samudram āviśat*, *Raghuvamśa* 3, 28.

An early Gupta seal found at Basarh (Fig. 101) during excavations about the beginning of this century has an interesting legend. It appears to have belonged to a royal dignitary holding a high official position and is a motto to remind one of the highest ethical conduct expected of him in the discharge of his duties. The legend reads *dharmo rakshati rakshitaḥ*. *Dharma* is hailed as the greatest protector if well taken care of. It is also an indication of the spirit of the age. It is Yudhishṭhira who says: *dharma eva hato hanti dharmo rakshati rakshitaḥ*, *Mahābhārata* 3, 313, 128.

To understand this best we have fortunately a long and fervent plea for *dharma* by Udayana in the tenth century A.D. It is an interesting passage in the second chapter (*stabaka*) of the *Kusumāñjali*, where the continued deterioration of the high standard of virtue and moral code during a long passage of time is graphically narrated, and it is an appeal for the resuscitation of *dharma* as the greatest protector. After detailing the gradual deterioration of moral values and the best of culture, inherited from remote ancestry, including traditional learning and outlook in life, he gives a striking picture of a great *dharma*, which he knew and cherished and which even before his eyes was crumbling to pieces, for the rejuvenation of which he has eloquently pleaded. He gives examples, one of which we can have as a taste of the rest, before giving the passage that sums up his exhortation. To take food habits, Udayana demonstrates a palpable deterioration. At first, they were *amṛitabhuks*, partaking of food from what remained after offerings in the sacrificial fire, and then they were *vighasabhuks*, dining after satisfying the guests who were the first to be fed, later still were *annabhuks* partaking of food only after feeding those in their service, but today, how very sad feels Udayana, they are *aghabhuks*, eating food prepared entirely for themselves and for feeding none else, particularly as there can be no greater sin than this. In fact *aghabhuk* itself means eating sin : *pūrvam amṛitabhujas tato vighasabhujas tato' annabhujas sampratyaghabhuja eva.*

Finally he sums up by giving a picture of *dharma* presented as a cow or as a bull, *vṛisho hi bhagavān dharmaḥ* as Manu would have it (*Manusmṛiti* 8,16), originally four-footed, now limping along in great agony on a single foot. Formerly *dharma* was firmly resting on its four legs. Slowly as *dharma* deteriorated and got weakened by the attenuated power of penance, it had only three legs to rest on, and when bright philosophic thought and discernment (*jñāna*) withered, *dharma* rested in great pain only on two feet, but now with attenuated sacrificial activity (*yajña*) *dharma* stands on a single leg, purely by the power of *dāna* or the spirit of giving away. Even this foot, affected by a foot-sore as it were, resulting in such forbidden activities as the game of dice, drink etc., disfigured by smirch of lack of faith—pierced by a thousand thorns in the shape of lust, greed, anger and so forth, and with its vitality sapped slowly day by day is unable to stand on this feeble leg, stumbles here and there and almost appears to fall : *pūrvam chatushpād dharma āsīt, tatas tanūyamāne tapasi tripāt, tato mlāyati jñāne dvipāt, samprati jīryati yajñe dānaikapāt, sopi pādo durāgatādivipādikāśatadushṭo' śradhhāmalakalaṅkitaḥ kāmakrodhādikaṇṭakaśatajarjjaraḥ pratyaham apachīyamānavīryatayā itastatas skhalannivo' palabhyate, Kusumāñjali* 2,3.

It is no wonder that Bhīshma adored *dharma* as we can see from his long discourses to Yudhishṭhira in the Śānti and Anuśāsana parvas. Nor is it a wonder either that Kausalyā invokes Dharma to protect Rāma, who himself assiduously tried to follow the path of *dharma* to such an extent that he is styled the very personification of *dharma*, *rāmo vigrahavān dharmaḥ*, and who protected it by all the power in his means : *yam pālayasi dharmam tvam dhrityā cha niyamena cha sa vai rāghavaśārdūla dharmas tvām abhirakshatu, Rāmāyaṇa* 2, 25, 3.

A whole range of *dharmarakshā* can be seen in inscriptions starting with the earliest Aśokan edicts which proclaim that this is the precept, this is the ruling according to *dharma*, laid down by *dharma*, gladdening by *dharma* and walking in the path of *dharma*: *esa hi vidhi ya iyam dhammena palana dhammena vidhane dhammena sukhiyana dhammena gotiti*, *C. Inscr.Ind.* 1, p.119; and repeated sixteen centuries later in an inscription of Yādava Rāmachandra, who could boast of the *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi* of Hemādri of his time, assuring the great merit in protecting *dharma* which could not be counted and assessed in any terms, though even the counting of the particles of dust on earth and the drops of rain from heaven could possibly be achieved : *gaṇyante pāmsavo bhūmer gaṇyante vṛishṭibindavaḥ na gaṇyante vidhātrāpi dharmasamrakshaṇe phalam*, *Ind. Ant.* 14, p. 314 f.

There is an inscribed sculpture fragment from Amarāvatī showing a turbaned head and the branches of a tree above the steeple of a *Chaityagṛiha*. The inscription reads *chadamukho yakho baku nivāsi*, Chandramukha yaksha dwelling in the Bakula tree (Fig. 102). The last word should have read *bakulanivāsi* and *la* is missing. The sculpture by its style and the inscription by its palaeography confirm its early date in the second century B.C. Yakshas associated with trees like *vaṭa* are often mentioned in Śāstraic literature under *aitihya*, one of the *pramāṇas*. We may quote Vāchaspati Miśra *yachchānirdishṭapravaktṛitvam pravādapāramparyamātram'iti hochur vriddhāh' ityaitihyam, yathā iha vaṭe yakshaḥ prativasati iti, na tat pramāṇāntaram, anirdishṭapravaktṛikatvena sāmśayikatvāt, āptavaktṛikatvaniśchaye tvāgama eva*, *Sāṅkhyatattvakaumudī* p. 16,50.

The Yaksha from Amarāvatī mentioned by name in the inscription is very important as it proves that Yaksha worship was all over India including the southern part of the country. So far, Yakshas like Ajakālaka, Kupira, are known only from the North. This is the first to be found and named in a label in South India. It thus proves a universal Yaksha worship in the country from very early times.

The short Brāhmī labels explaining the theme of the sculptor in the early monuments, studied in relation to literary texts that form their source, have indeed proved most revealing. At Bhārhut there are interesting labels of known titles of *jātaka* tales against each panel illustrating the story, and by the variation in degrees of the exact wording of the titles of the *jātakas* in their text, as quoted by Rhys Davids from Oldenberg, their antiquity, oral tradition and variant readings are all understood. For instance the label *Vidura Punakiya jātaka* is styled *Vidhura Paṇḍita jātaka* in the text. What is in the text *Nigrodha miga jātaka* is *Miga jātaka* in the Bhārhut label. The elephant in the tale is given precedence over the monster crab in the Bhārhut label styled *Nāga jātaka*, while the crab claims importance in the text in the heading *Kakkaṭa jātaka*. An episode in the *Mahāummagga jātaka* is labelled in the sculpture as *Yavamajhakiya jātaka* The *Laṭukika jātaka* in the text is *Laṭuvā jātaka* on the sculpture. *Chhaddanta jātaka* in the text is slightly modified in the label as *Chhadantiya jātaka*. *Alambusa jātaka* in the text is named in a totally different way in the label *Isisiṅgiya jātaka*. Similarly *Andhabhūta jātaka* is styled *Yam bamaṇo avayesi jātaka*. *Nachcha jātaka* of the text is *Hamsa jātaka* in the label, *Kinnara jātaka* in the label omits a part of the title in the text *Chanda kinnara jātaka*. The label *Isimiga jātaka* represents the story *Migapotaka jātaka*. The title *Mahājanaka jātaka* is labelled *Janako rājā Sivalī devī*, not so much the title of the story as pointing out the hero and heroine of the story. *Dabbha Puppha jātaka* is labelled *Uda jātaka* and *Dubhiya-Makkaṭa jātaka* as *Secha jātaka*. *Sujāta jātaka* is elaborately labelled *Sujato gahuto jātaka*. Similarly *Kukkuṭa jātaka* in the text reads *Biḍala jātaka kukkuṭa jātaka* in the Bhārhut label against the figures of the cat and cock. *Makhādeva jātaka* of the text is *Maghādeviya jātaka* in the label. The simple title in the text *Bhisa jātaka* is elaborated in the label *Bhisa Haraniya jātaka*. There are others like *Kurunga-Miga jātaka*, *Sandhibheda jātaka*, *Asadisa jātaka*, *Dasaratha jātaka*, *Mahākapi jātaka*, *Chamma-Sataka jātaka*, *Ārāma-dūsaka jātaka*, *Kapota jātaka* and *Vessantara jātaka* that are spelt alike in both.

Though the verses are even much earlier, it is the narrations in prose that give the stories illustrated. They are, therefore, of great antiquity. The life and times, the culture and ideology of the *jātakas* is all certainly very much earlier than Buddha, and Rhys Davids agrees with Buhler in placing them so, as he also feels there is nothing specially Buddhist about them, representing as they do a life anterior to Buddha himself. Even the editor of the *jātakas*.

Fausboll, is one with Buhler in this regard. These labels, however, prove beyond doubt an early text at least some time in the third century B.C. that the sculptor had in mind when he incised the legends in the second century B.C. on each of these panels.

A short inscription on the southern *toraṇa* gateway of Sāñchī of the second century B.C. is invaluable for the light it sheds on ivory carving in ancient India (Fig. 103). At a time when no examples of early ivory work had been found, this was almost the only evidence for establishing eminence in ivory carving in India in that period of her history, and Vincent Smith spells out this inscription *vedisehi dantakārehi rūpakarumam kaṭam*, the workers in ivory of Vidiśā have done the carving'. (*Epigraph. Ind.* 2 p. 92, 378; tope 1, inscr. No. 200 C. 189; *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* p. 372). This clearly proves that at that early date the carvers of ivory were organized as a guild, that Vidiśā was a great centre of ivory carving, and that the ivory carvers were equally at home in delicate stone carving which is evident at Sāñchī. That craftsmen, skilful in one art, could with equal felicity handle another or several other arts, is again borne out by yet another short inscription on the hand of a well-carved sculpture of a dwarf from Pītalkhora of the second century B.C., *hirañakarena kanhadāsena kaṭam*, prepared by the goldsmith Kṛishṇadāsa (Fig. 104). Today it is even believed that the large number of ivories found at Begrām in Afghanistan are probably the handiwork of the ivory carvers of Vidiśā. At any rate since Smith wrote, a large number of ivories of the first two centuries before and after Christ and of varying medieval dates as well, have been found and have established the popularity of ivory work in India. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* ivory used for decorating the interior of places *dantāntaritarūpikam* (5, 9, 23) and for furniture and vehicles *gajadantamayīm divyām śibikām antarikshagām* (5, 27, 9) is mentioned. In the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* Vasantasenā's palace has an ivory decked entrance of its terrace shining in its splendour. Kālidāsa mentions exquisite ivory-carved couch of prince Atithi seated on which he decorates himself : *tataḥ kakshyāntaranyastagajadantāsanam śuchi sottorachchhadam adhyāsta nepathyagrahaṇāya saḥ*, *Raghuvaṁśa* 17, 21.

It is not always that a *dhyānaśloka* to explain the iconography of an image of a deity is found. Very often many sculptures pose problems in regard to their identification. Fortunately a long description of the peculiar northern form of Naṭarāja is found in the *Matsyapurāṇa*. The Naṭarāja from Bharella with an inscription on its pedestal, though unfortunately broken, gives its name correctly as it is known in the North, Nartteśvara. This name is fortunately corroborated by its mention in an earlier text, the *Vishṇudharmottara*. Literature thus aids epigraphy in understanding the correct nomenclature. At Bherāghāṭ the names of the Chatushshashṭiyoginīs engraved on the pedestals of each of them form very valuable iconographic material.

An image of Sarasvatī from Dhārā, the capital of the Paramāra king Bhoja, now in the British Museum, is extremely valuable in many ways (Fig. 105). It is inscribed and the inscription mentions it as the auspicious and merit-bestowing image of Vāgdevī the repository of learning of the city of Bhoja, the moon among kings, prepared by Manathala the son of the architect sculptor Sahira and engraved by Śivadeva in Samvat 1091 (1035 A.D.) *om śrīmadbhojanarendrachandranagarīvidyādharī* .... *rmonadhih namasa . . . sma . . . khalu sukham* (*pra . . . pya na*) *yāpsarāḥ vāgdevīpratimām vidhāya jananī yasyārji* (*tānām trayī*)*. . . . . phaiādhikam dhara* (*sarin*) *mūrtim śubhām nirmame iti śubham. sūtradhāra sahirasuta manathalena ghaṭitam vi . . . . tika śivadevena likhitam iti samvat* 1091 (*Rupam* 17 (1924 p. 1-2).

This sculpture remarkably well-carved, is important, as, from the inscription alone we know it is of Sarasvatī, as the hands and attributes being mutilated, there is no way of locating the deity meant for representation. The sculptor's name, which is not usually given, is also fortunately present. The date given is another fortunate coincidence in helping us to firmly determine the fact that it was installed by the famous patron of learning Paramāra Bhoja, probably in his university at Dhārā, Bhojaśālā. Here, books, like the *Pārijātamañjarī nāṭikā* by Madana (*Epigraph. Ind.* 8, p. 96) and two Prākṛit poems on the Primeval Tortoise (*Epigraph. Ind.* 8, p. 41) composed by Bhoja himself, had their permanent pages made available. Inscribed on slabs in beautiful letters for all time to come, classical works and other interesting texts required for the study of students, were fixed on the walls of the halls of the university, to help students to refresh their memory by a glance at the walls. The universities and their libraries *Sarasvatībhāṇḍāras* were presided over by deities like the Goddess of Learning as in the present instance, or Dakshiṇāmūrti or Hayagrīva or other deity presiding over learning. We know from an early Choḷa inscription from Tiruvottiyur near Madras that in the *Vyākaraṇadānamaṇḍapa* of the ancient temple there, there was established the form of Śiva styled Vyākaraṇadānaperumāl, the expounder of the *Māheśvara sūtras*, the fourteen aphorisms for Bhagavān Pāṇini for fourteen continous days, and worshipped by the teachers and pupils for whose maintenance provision had been made. This is an instance of the installation and adortion of Dakshiṇāmūrti in an educational centre. There is another instance of a large college of the time of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III in the village of Salodgi in Bijapur, originally known as Pavittage, where Nārāyaṇa, the minister of the emperor, founded it as an adjunct of the temple there, an educational institution dedicated to *Trayīpurusha*, the *Vedas* personified as the Supereme Being, the Solar orb as the *Ṛigveda*, the flame in it as the *Sāmaveda* and the *Purusha* in it as the *Yajurveda*, making a complex of Savitā.

That Bhoja was a great patron of poets, himself a great poet and writer, is well known from his numerous works of distinction like the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, *Śṛiṅgāraprakāśa* etc. Bilhaṇa had such regard for Bhoja's learning that he compares Kshitirāja, brother of Ananta and lord of Lohara, to Bhoja, as Sarasvatī was on his face like a sportive *tilak* mark: *bhojakshmābṛitsaḍṛiśamahimā loharākhāṇḍalo'bhūt . . . prāptā tilakatulanām yanmukhe sūktidevī*, *Vikramānkadevacharita* 18, 47. The popular saying *adya dhārā nirādhārā nirālambā sarasvatī paṇḍitāḥ khaṇḍitās sarve bhojarāje divam gate* is more than substantiated by Bilhaṇa when he fancies the city of Dhārā expressing her great sorrow through the chirpings of the doves in the top terraces of the city gate pavilion as if to explain how sad it was that he did not come to him when Bhoja, so unlike other lesser rulers, was available: *bhojaḥ kshmābhṛit sa khalu na khalais tasya sāmyam narendrais tatpratyaksham kimiti bhavatā nāgatam hā hatāsmi yasya dvāroḍḍamaraśikharakroḍapārāvatānām nādavyājād iti sakaruṇam vyājahāreva dhārā, Vikramāṅkadevā charitam* 18, 96.

But this is not the only sculpture giving the name of the sculptor. Fortunately there are others of whom we know not only their names but even the degree of their skill as the inscriptions give their *birudas* and estimate of their proficiency. At Belur there are several sculptors mentioned by name (Fig. 106). *Birudarūvārigaṇḍala baḍiva* 'smiter of the crowd of titled sculptors' is a title of Dāsoja, while his son is *birudarūvārimadanamaheśa*' a Śiva to the cupid, titled sculptors.' Chikka Hampa was Tribhuvanamalladeva's sculptor and therefore the king's own, and bore the title *machchhariparūvārigalagaṇḍa* 'champion over rival sculptors'. Malliyana, 'a tiger among sculptors' was *rūvāripuli*. He was another of Vishṇuvardhana's favoured sculptors and styled himself *machchharipu-rūvāri-giri-vajradaṇḍa* 'thunderbolt to the mountains, rival titled sculptors'.

The Chandella sculptures sometimes reveal the names of sculptors inscribed on them as at Khajuraho and elsewhere. A lovely damsel playing the flute has an inscription *Śrī Kaṇa* (Fig. 107). The most famous of the Chandella sculptors is *Chitrakāra* Śrī Sātana. His son Chitanaka, who fashioned the Bodhisattva Siṁhanāda found at Mahoba, mentions in an inscription in lovely characters that he was a *chitrakāra*, a painter by caste and profession quite well-versed in the science of all the fine arts—*chitrakāra śrī sātanasaya putraḥ sakalaśilpavidyākuśalaḥ chhitanakas tasyeyam. Chitrakāra* Śrī Sātana's gift of this art seems to have been so great that even relatives of this sculptor could carve, and actually one did prepare a beautiful sculpture of Tārā and inscribe herself as the daughter-in-law of the famous painter Sātana, though out of modesty she could not give her name—*chitrakāraśrī sātanas tasya vadhūkasya iyam.*

Literature teams with descriptions of the appreciation of the art of painters and sculptors who were duly honoured by the kings. A graphic picture of such an honour shown occurs in the *Harshacharita* where Prabhākaravardhana receives the craftsmen on the eve of the marriage of princess Rājyaśrī to Grahavarṁan. Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāmsā* mentions a special place given to sculptors, painters, dancers and others in the royal assembly of poets—*kavisamāja.*

Kings in ancient India were very anxious to help their subjects to be as happy and prosperous as possible. Inscriptions that mention this anxiety of the rulers in lines like *porajananivisesasamasukhadukhasa* from the Nāsik inscription of Balasiri *Epigraph. Ind.* 8, p. 60 and *samrañjayām cha prakṛitīr babhūva* and *yo lālayāmāsā cha pauravargān*, *C. Inscr.* 3, p. 60 from the Girnār inscription of Skandagupta, recalling Vālmīki's descriptian of Rāma, *vyasaneshu manushyāṇām bhṛiśam bhavati duhkhitaḥ utsaveshu cha sarveshu piteva paritushyati*, *Rāmāyaṇa* 2, 2, 40, 41, clearly prove an effort at *rājadharma*.

Aśoka, who was so kind to man and beast, not only to his own subjects in his vast empire, but also to distant neighbours, all of whom he loved and wished well, could not be indifferent to their agricultural prosperity. The Sudarśana lake, the largest irrigation tank known to history, was created by Chandragupta through his governor Pushyagupta, but was made most effective by a chain of channels all created by Aśoka through his governor Yavana Tushāspa: *janapadasyārthe mauryasya rājñas chandraguptasya rāshṭriyeṇa vaiśyena pushyaguptena kāritam aśokasya mauryasya kṛite yavanarājena tushāsphenādhisṭhāya pranālībhir alamkṛitam. Epigraph. Ind.* 8, p. 36 f. When it was long later ruined by an unprecedented storm and downpour flooding the whole area, converting it almost into a sea, Rudradāman got it repaired and strengthened *svasmād kośānmahatā dhanaughenānatimahatā cha kālena triguṇaḍriḍhataravistārāyāmam setum vidhāya . . . . . sudarśanataram kāritam*, *Epigraph. Ind.* 8, p. 36 f. When it again broke by the floods of the river Suvarṇasikatā and Palāśinī in the time of Skandagupta he got it repaired through his agent Chakrapālita.

Such irrigation tanks are known in large numbers from inscriptions. One of them was the Mahendrataṭāka created by Mahendravarman Pallava who also excavated a cave temple in the boulder close by and recorded in his inscription *upamahendrataṭākam idam sthiram uru kāritam*, *Epigraph. Ind.* 4, p. 153. *Vayiramegarataṭāka* at Uttaramallūr, *Perumpiḍugu vāykkāl*, *Chitrameghataṭāka*, *Parameśvarataṭāka* at Kūram are all Pallava irrigation tanks on which there is a fund of information in regard to their supervision and unkeep by the village assemblies (*sabhās*) in inscriptions. Venkayya has an interesting paper on the irrigation tanks in Pallava times (*Ann. Rep. D.G. Arch.* 1903-4, p. 202f). Bhojasāgar, the gigantic irrigation tank of

Malwa, caused by the royal engineer Bhoja himself had almost survived till nearly three hundred years ago. This was an essential duty of Kings is clearly seen in the activities of the ruler Kālidāsa specially mentions in the case of Kuśa and his brother who succeeded not to an ideal *rāmarājya* but literally *rāmarājya* itself, and distinguished themselves by their successful undertakings like the constructions of bridges and dams, multiplying agricultural prosperity and animal-husbandry, taming of elephants, exploring of mines and so forth: *te setuvārtāgajabandhamukhyair abhyuchchhṛitā karmabir apyavandhyaiḥ*, *Raghuvamśa* 16, 2. Hemādri, Chāritravardhana and Mallinātha here quote from Kāmandaka, *kṛishir vaṇikpatho durgam setuḥ kuñjarabandhanam khanyākaravanādānam śūnyānām cha niveśanam* calling royal attention to improve agriculture, trade, fortifications, bridges and dams, taming of elephants, exploration of mines and forest produce and reclamation of barren tracts.

We know from literature that several kings thought in terms of transferring the onerous duties of statecraft and rulership to their sons come of age and betook themselves to the forest to live in a hermitage with their devoted consorts and sometimes even to enter into *sanyāsa* as Raghu chose to become: *munivanataruchchhāyām devyā tayā saha śiśriye galitavayasām ikshvakūṇām idam hi kulavratam*, *Raghuvamśa* 3, 70. Rāma perforce adopted this life even when young: *rāmopi saha vaidehyā vane vanyena vartayan chachāra sānujas śānto vṛiddekshvākuvratam yuvā*, *Raghuvamśa* 12, 20. There are other instances of how kings towards the evening of their life voluntarily retired to a *kshetra* that was a *muktidāyinī* assuring final beatitude by emancipation from births and deaths. The classical instance from history is the Kalachuri king Gāṅgeyadeva, also called Vikramāditya, the crest jewel of the lion throne of heroism, who suddenly became heavenward intent and averse to enjoying the earth won by his valour, sought shelter under the holy Banyan tree of Prayāga where he found salvation together with his hundred queens: *sa vīrasimhāsanamauliratnam sa vikramāditya iti prasiddhaḥ yasmād akasmād apavargam ichchhan akuchchalaḥ kum svajitam babhāra prapte prayāgavaṭamūlaniveśabandhau sārdham śatena gṛihiṇībhir amutra muktim*, *Epigraph. Ind.* 2, p. 4.

Another instance of a king, who also sought the *kshetra* of

Prayāga for *mukti*, but who would not wait under a *munivanataruchchhāyā* for his end when it came, was Īśānavarman, who, cherishing heroism and truth above wealth or prosperity, reached Prayāga, where he plunged into a fire kindled with cow-dung cakes as if he were plunging into water for a bath and was worshipped by a rain of flowers : *śauryasatyavratadharo yaḥ prayāgagato dhane ambhasīva karīshāgnau magnas sa pushpapūjitaḥ C. Inscr. Ind.* 3, p. 203.

Several rivers, the confluences of rivers and sacred spots were known as *tīrthas* of great efficacy. Gaṅgā was herself deemed to be the noblest and most sacred of rivers and the confluence at Prayāga sanctified in *Purāṇa* became deeprooted in faith as a great spot for pilgrimage. In the *Śatarudrīya*, Rudra is saluted as *Tīrthya*, the deity pervading *tīrthas*. Prayāga assumed supreme importance. The most picturesque discription in literature of the commingling of rivers is that of Gaṅgā and Yamunā by Kālidāsa. This glorious confluence of rivers, realized by sight and not easily expressed in words, has been most vividly portrayed by Kālidāsa who pictures Gaṅgā, flowing with her silvery stream broken by the bluish wavelets of Yamunā, appearing here like a necklace of pearls interspersed with lustrous sapphires, there a garland of white lotuses with blue lilies woven into it at intervals, sometimes like a row of birds fond of the Mānasa lake (white stream) touching the dark swans, elsewhere like decorative creeper patterns painted in dark *aguru* paste on sandal background for the earth, somewhere like the moonlight mottled by dark patches of shade here and there, elsewhere like a line of spotless autumnal clouds with the sky seen through the interstices, somewhere like the body of Śiva smeared with ashes and decorated with black serpents. Kālidāsa concludes this glorious picture in words by assuming that those purified by a bath at this confluence of the two consorts of the ocean have no more after death any further bondage in mortal coil even though they may not heve realised that truth of the Eternal One : *kvachit prabhālepibhir indranīlair muktāmayī yashṭir ivānuviddhā anyatra mālā sitapaṅkajānām indīvarair utkhachitāntareva kvachit khagānām priyamānasānām kādambasamsargavatīva panktiḥ anyatra śubhrā śaradabhralekhā randhreshvivāiakshyanabhaḥpradeśā kvachichcha kṛishṇoragabhūshaṇeva bhasmāṅgarāgā tanur īśvarasya paśyanavadyāṅgi vibhati gaṅga bhinnapravāhā yamunātaraṅgaiḥ samudrapatnyor jalasannipāte pūtatmanām atra kilābhishekāt tatvāvabodhena vināpi* *bhūyas tanutyajām nāsti śarīrabandhaḥ, Raghuvamśa* 13,54-58.

A third instance of a great king, who had all he could desire and who had such a heroic son as Vtkramāditya, himself so learned, liberal and highly respected, was Āhavamalla Someśvara. He was, as Bilhaṇa pictures him, immaculate in character and had virtues that led poets to make him the hero of their compositions, tales or poems or dramas, had performed many sacrifices and given liberally even excelling the celestial gem *chintāmaṇi.* But as ill luck would have it, he developed such an unbearable malady, a fever beyond endurance, that he felt his end approaching and desired to be conducted to the *Tuṅgabhadrā*, a very Ganges for the South, where after a bath, adoration of Śiva and a liberal bestowal of gold in charity, he entered the river till the water reached his neck, and in the din of the waves and the sound of musical instruments, he drowned himself: *tatrāvatīrya dhaureyo dhīrāṇam dharaṇīpatiḥ snātvā chaṇḍīśacharaṇadvandvachintāparo bahvat. adatta chāparichchhinnam akhinnaḥ kāñchanotkaram na kṛichchhrepi mahābhāgā tyāgavrataparaṅmukhāḥ, praviśya kaṇṭhadaghne'tha sarittoye jagāna saḥ kallolatūryanirghosha's chandrachūḍāmaṇeḥ purīm, Vikramāṅkadevacharita* 4,66.68.

To understand this the spirit of faith in *kshetras* mentioned by name in the epics like the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana* and even in early inscriptions like the one of Ushavadāta son-in-law of Nahapana who mentions Prabhāsa and Vārāṇasī among others, should be remembered. It was sometimes the desire of people in a mood of renunciation to live the evening of their life in a *kshtera* like Vārāṇasī *kadā vārānasyām amaratatinīrodhasi vasan vasānaḥ kaupīnam śirasi nidadhānoñjalipuṭam aye gaurīnātha tripurahara śambho trinayana prasīdeti krośan nimisham iva neshyāmi divasān* as Bhartṛihari has it.

This sacred *Kshetra*, the greatest among holy sports in India, has a unique early representation in sculpture in the Varāha cave at Udayagiri in Central India in the vicinity of Mahāvarāha raising Pṛithvī from the ocean (Fig. 108). In this context Samudra is personified carrying a *ratnakalaśa* to suggest that he is *Ratnākara*. The two principal streams, Gaṅgā and Yamunā, are shown standing in human form, each on her vehicle, the *makara* and *kachhchapa* respectively, on their own streams, which join and proceed to meet the ocean, also shown personified, standing to receive them. There is music, dance and festivity at the confluence of the rivers to suggest the worship of the rivers. The result of this bath, immortality gained by becoming a celestial, is suggested by the immortals shown fluttering above the stream.

It is against this deep feeling towards the *tīrtha* that the repairing to Prayāga by Gāṅgeyadeva with his queens to await his end there under the holy banyan tree, and of Iśānavarman who immolated himself at Prayāga have to be understood.

For understanding the choice of Someśvara to die in the Tuṅgabhadrā, Bilhaṇa's reference te the river as *dakshiṇagaṅgā*, the Gaṅgā of the south, helps. The drowning of oneself like this has the classical instances of Aja in the confluenee of Gaṅgā and Sarayū that made him a celestial to roam rejoined with his beloved one in the gardens of heaven and of Rāma with his entire retinue in the Sarayū at Ayodhyā. Kālidāsa here specifically praises the efficacy of the *tīrtha* of Gaṅgā-Sarayū confluence as granting immortality : *tīrthe toyavyatikarabhave jahnukanyāsarayvoḥ dehatyāgād amaragaṇanālekhyam āsādya sadyaḥ*, *Raghuvamśa* 8,85. Somesvara's illness and his sense of approaching death that prevented his waiting even to greet his victorious son, who was approaching to meet his father, left him no option to choose the next best after Gaṅgā, *Dakshiṇagaṅgā*.

In the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman there is a description of Nandī as the banner of Śiva marked with the auspicious imprint of the five fingers given by the mountain-born Pārvatī: *ukshāṇam tam dadhānaḥ kshitipatitanayādattapañchāṅgulāṅkam drāghishṭhas śūlapāṇeḥ kshapayatu bhavatām śatrutejāmsi ketuḥ*, *C. Inscr. Ind.* 3, p. 146. This *pishṭapañchāṅgula*, marked with the fingers and the palm dipped in colour-paste is an ancient practice to signify auspiciousness. The hand of the woman with husband living and braceleted was privileged to decorate the walls and almost every household object on auspicious occasions with the mark. Bāṇa mentions household articles like mortar, pestle and stone slab being decorated with powder marks of the fingers : *pishṭapañchāṅgulamaṇḍyamānolūkhalamusalasilādyupakaraṇam*, *Harshacharita* 4, p. 142. He also describes a filled pitcher on the ground smeared with green cowdung, its neck encircled by a garland of colourful flowers, white with the mark of the powder from the five fingers, and with fresh mango leaves placed in its mouth : *śobhane muhūrte haritagomayopaliptājirasthaṇḍilasthāpitam asitetarakusumamālāparikshiptakaṇṭham pishṭapañchāṅgulapāṇḍuram mukhanihitanavachūtapallavam pūrṇakalaśam udīkshamāṇaḥ, Harshacharita* 2, p, 57.

This *pishṭapaūchāṅgula* is fortunately preserved for us in its representation in some carvings from Bhārhut (Fig. 109), which at once not only vividly explain to us this auspicious symbol but also its antiquity going back to centuries before Christ. It has survived almost till today. The lifted palm of the braceleted hand of a woman that ascended the funeral pyre of her hero husband represented in *satikkals* is only this. Legions of Rājpuṭ women that struck their finger prints on sandal paste and cheerfully proceeded decked in their best to meet the flaming fire and get consumed as cheerfully as they opproached their lords in the cool hours of their bridal day is again an expression of auspicious *pishṭapañchāṅgula.*

Cattle formed the greatest wealth of the villagers and the cruel enemy always tried to attack this wealth, the most coveted. This was considered enough provocation for a fight. The owners in turn returned the blow and thus started small skirmishes of *gograhaṇa* which developed into larger battles. A classical instance of *gograhaṇa* occurs in the *Mahābhārata* where the Kauravas started their affray by placing their hands on the cattle of the king of Virāṭa.

In Bhāsa's *Pañcharātra* a striking picture is given of the cows, calves and bulls scared by the hand laid on them by the enemy with their valour enshrouded in an act of theft, causing the calves to run, the cows to be downcast and the bulls appear with a look of anxiety, all of them bellowing and scattered in confusion : *bho bho nivedyatām mahārājāya virāṭeśvarāya—ete hi dasyukarmaprachchhannavikramair dhārtarāshṭrair hriyante gāva iti, tatra hi, drutais cha vatsair vyathitaiścha goganair nirīkshaṇatrastamukhaiścha govṛishaiḥ kṛitārtanādākulitam samantato gavām kulam śochyam ihākulākulam, Pañcharatra* 2, 1. The king Virāṭa feels that death in rescuing cows brought fame and success merit and the fight not being in vain was most welcome :

raṇaśirasi gavārthe nāsti moghaḥ prayatno nidhanam api yaśas syān mokshayitvā tu dharmaḥ, *Pañcharātra* 2,5.

There are several sculptural representations of *gograhaṇa*, and the hero of a village, who died fighting to defend the cattle, was honoured by a memorial stone (Fig. 110) showing the scene of his valorous fight on the battlefield in defence of the cattle and with an inscription describing the purpose of the memorial. From Kīḷmuttugūr there is such a memorial stone of the Choḷa period, showing the hero fighting in the vicinity of the cattle for protecting them. The inscription runs : *śrī madiraikoṇḍa ko pparakesaripanmarr-iyāṇd-irubottonbadāvadu perumānaḍigalan-mukkuṭṭūr toru-kolla miṭṭupaṭṭan vadunavāran varadan tāṇḍan*, *Epigraph. Ind.* 4, p. 179.

In these *gograhaṇa* fights it was not so much for the wealth lost or gained that a severe battle was waged. It was just a ruse for fighting on the part of those who captured the cattle, and it was equally a fight by the opponents to establish their valour and self respect.

There are many other hero strones showing valorous fight in battles and the heroes ascending in celestial cars to reach *vīrasvarga* or valhalla in the company of celestial nymphs (Fig. 111). It is often a long and spirited description in inscriptions as in long accounts in Choḷa inscriptions. A classical instance is the battle described in the Kūram grant of Parameśvaravarman. The description in the Goharwa plates of Karṇa Kalachuri of heroes chosen by heavenly nymphs that conduct them to heaven is given graphically. As the ghosts and gobbins, drinking freely of the gushing blood from the corpses of the many killed in battle, created such a din in their merriment that filled all the quarters, the celestial nymphs had time to make their choice from the fallen heroes on the battle field, resulting in their making signs with their hand to express their intent : *yat kuntaprotaśatrusrutarudhirasurāpānamattapranṛityadvetālottālatālā ravabharitakakutchchakraparyantasīmni anyonyālakshyavāchām samiti sarabhasam dattahastādisañjñāvyāpāreṇāmarāṇām vararamaṇavidhiḥ kashṭam āsīn muhūrtam*, *C. Inscr. Ind.* 4 pt. 1, p. 255f.

The most picturesque description given by Kālidāsa of this feature is where the hero, the moment his head was severed by his opponent's sword, became the lord of a celestial car with a celestial damsel by his side, as he still saw his headless corpse yet dancing on the battle-field : *kaśchid dvishatkhaḍgahṛitotamāṅgaḥ sadyo vimānaprabhutām upetya vamāṅgasamsaktasurāṅganas svam nṛityatkabandham samare dadarśa*, *Raghuvamśa* 7, 51.

The highest heaven was for the hero who turned not from a battlefield, the same as for the best sacrificer and for those who made vast gifts of land. This, Rāma assures for Jaṭāyu, who dies valiantly fighting Rāvaṇa : *yā gatir yajñaśīlānām āhitāgneścha yā gatiḥ aparāvartinām yā cha yā cha bhūmipradāyinām mayā tvam samanujñāto gachchha lokān anuttamān*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, 3, 69, 29-30. Kṛishṇa holds out the same for Arjuna on the battlefield : *hato vā prāpsyasi svargam jitvā vā bhokshyase mahīm*, *Bhagavadgītā*, 2, 37. Kauṭilya suggests that kings should exhort their soldiers to be brave on the battlefield by holding out *vīrasvarga* for the brave as it is said even in the *Vedas* that after the bath, on conclusion of sacrifices and the sacrificial fee, it is declared that they would have the highest heaven of the brave who die on the bettlefield : *samhatya daṇḍam brūyāt vedeshvapyanuśrūyate samāptadakshiṇānām yajñānām avabhṛiteshu 'sā te gatir yā śūrāṇām' iti*, *Arthaśāstra* 10, 3, 18. The early Tamil classics similarly describe *vīrasvarga* for the brave slain in battle. A passage from *Puraṇānūru* (26) says 'blessed are your enemies though they could not withstand your onslaughts, they now occupy the heaven of the brave : *korror manra nin pakaivar ninnoṭu mārrā rennum peyarper rarrā rāyinu mānṭuvāḷ vore*, *J.O.R.* 13, p. 215.

A long and interesting early inscription describes and lauds the valour of a hound that died heroically, after fighting and vanquishing a boar, the memorial being raised by its noble master who mourned the loss of so worthy an animal. This memorial which shows the spirited fight between the hound and the boar and is now in the Bangalore Museum (Fig. 112), is a positive proof of the great value that people in ancient India attached to the divine quality of valour.

The long inscriptions on the plinth of the Rājarājeśvara temple at Tañjāvūr mentions, among many other interesting things we learn from them, that a metal portrait of her mother was presented by Kundavai, the beloved elder sister of the emperor, to commemorate Vānavanmādevī, queen of Sundara Choḷa, who like Yaśomatī, queen of Prabhākaravardhana, chose to follow her lord on the funeral pyre. Memorials with inscriptions for *satis* abound, specially in the Canarese districts. The *Harshacharita* gives one of the noblest passages as a graphic description of this immolation that Harsha so beseeched his mother to desist from.

A rare early example of a memorial for a beloved queen by her husband comes from Western India. This is for Hālidevī in the 5th century A.D. The image of the corpse on the funeral pyre, immediately below the lines of inscription inscribed above, cannot but at once bring to our mind Kālidāsa's tearful description of Indumatī's lifeless body consumed by the flames of the sandal wood pyre : *atha tasya kathanchid ankatas svajanas tām apanīya sundarīm visasarja tadantyamaṇḍanām analāyāguruchandanaidhase*, *Raghuvamśa*, 8, 71.

Some of the inscriptions provide the best examples of cultivated calligraphy. It is evident from the remark of Chāṇakya in the *Mudrārākshasa* that letters written with the greatest care and dexterity by scribes were to be welcomed. He confesses that, even though written with the utmost care, the letters of a *śrotriya* (Vedic scholar) like himself would be far from clear : *asphuṭāni bhavanti*, *Mudrārākshasa* 1, and he prefers the services of a scribe. When the final draft is brought to him he admires the letters : *aho darśanīyānyaksharāṇi*, *Mudrārākshasa* 1.

Inscriptions often specially mention the notworthey merit of the scribe that incised the text on stone or metal plate as the case may be. A complete poetic work occurring only as a lithic record, and valuable as the only surviving text, in the absence of any other copy on perishable material and presumably lost, is the *Pārijātamañjarī nāṭikā* by Madana discovered at Dhārā in the original Bhojaśālā, now turned into a mosque, and rescued from one of its walls (*Epigraph. Ind.* 8, p. 96). The scribe of this beautiful text is Rāmadeva son of a famous sculptor Sīhaka: *rūpakāraprakāṇḍasya sīhakasyāṅgajanmanaḥ* (*Epigraph. Ind.* 8, p. 117). A well-engraved inscription from

Bhuvaneśvar engraved by *Sūtrakāra* Śivakara is described as having letters like a string of pearls: *nichakhāna śilāpaṭṭe muktāphalanibhām iha*, *Epigraph. Ind.* 6, p. 202-203. A *sūtradhāra*, Mahīdhara compares his letters to the stars in the sky: *śilām tathākarod varṇair nabhas tārakitam yathā*, *Epigraph. Ind.* 2, p. 421. A sculptor Sovaraśi from the Canarese country (Fig. 113) actually boasts of his skill in one of his inscriptions: 'when he can entwine forms of elephants, lion, parrot and many other forms so as to shine among the letters will you madly complete with such a sculptor, Sovaraśi,' *Epigraph. Car.* 11, Cd. 47. The boast is not an empty one as may be seen from similar letters engraved in some Canarese inscriptions. In the Nāgarī inscriptions from the Rājasiṁheśvara temple in Kāñchīpuram, the numerous *birudas* of the Pallava monarch are incised in both the simple and ornamental type of letters. In the latter may be seen not only the beautiful sway of curves and lines in creeper fashion, but also in their contours, the necks and wings of peacocks, with the heads and plumes of the bird deftly introduced in the script, making the whole plan of lettering very clever and most pleasing in appearance. The *birudas* in Pallava *Grantha* characters in Mahābalipuram, the letters of Yaśodharman's *praśasti* from Mandasor and the letters of the Banskhera plate and particularly the signature of Harshavardhana are classical examples of calligraphy.

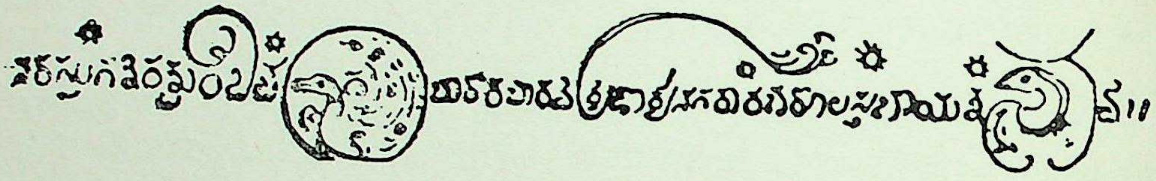

Fig. 113. *Two lines of an inscription inscised by Sovaraśi with the letters entwining birds etc., Western Chāḷukya, 11th century A.D.*

The inscriptions themselves are sometimes landmarks in the history of Sanskrit literature. They form sources in many cases for the study of literature. The poets that composed some of the inscriptions are excellent in poesy though unknown through any surviving works of theirs, but there are others who are known poets of ability. Harisheṇa the composer of the Allāhābād inscription of Samudragupta is an excellent poet of the former category. Ravikīrti's *praśasti* from Aihoḷe is another similar one. Though the name of the composer is lost, the importance of the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman cannot be minimised. Fortunately Kubja, the name of the poet of the excellent poetic inscription of Kadaṁba Kākutsthavarman, is preserved. To the other category of well known poets as composers of inscriptions belong Umāpatidhara, the author of the Deopara inscription, removed by two centuries from Trivikrama the composer of the Bagumra plates of Rāshṭrakūṭa Indrarāja and the famous author of the *Nalachampū*.

The Aihoḷe inscription is usually referred as the earliest to mention Kālidāsa. But earlier still is the Mahākuṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgaleśa which gives a whole line from Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*, *yathāvidhihutāgnīnām yathākāmārchitārthinām* cleverly dovetailed as an epithet of the Chāḷukyas (Fig. 114): *mānavyasagotrāṇām hāritīputrāṇām*

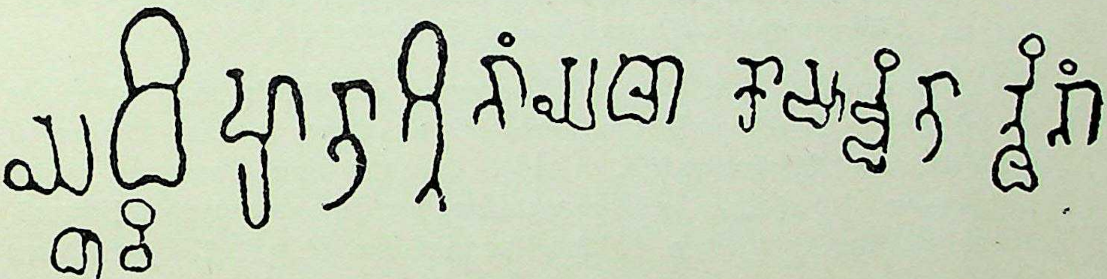

Fig. 114. *The line 'yathāvidhihutāgnīnām yathākāmārchitārthinām' from the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription, Western Chāḷukya, 6th century A.D.*

apratihatotsāhabalamatipratāpaśauryadhairyavīryāṇām mātāpitṛipādānudhyātānām yathāvidhihutāgnīnām yathākāmārchitārthinām anekadharmakarmapuṇyaprasavānām chaḷikyānām,*Ind. Ant.* 19, p.16. Similarly passages from the *Rāmāyaṇa* have been cleverly introduced in inscriptions and happily help us to know that at the time of the inscriptions they were present in the text of the book and were not interpolations. The line *nānāgotracharaṇatapassvādhyāyaniratebhyaḥ* in the Mattepād inscription (Fig. 115) of Damodaravarman (*Epigraph. Ind.* 17, p. 329) is clearly after *tapassvādhyāyaniratam tapasvī vāgvidām varam*, the opening verse of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. In the Mahākūṭa inscription of

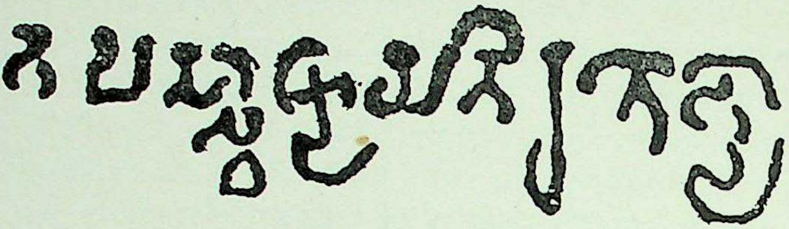

Fig. 115. *The line 'tapassvādhyāyaniratebhyaḥ' from the Mattepāḍ, copper plate, Śālaṅkāyana, 4th century A.D.*

Maṅgaḷeśa (Fig. 116) there is the line *samudra iva gambhīraḥ kshamayā*

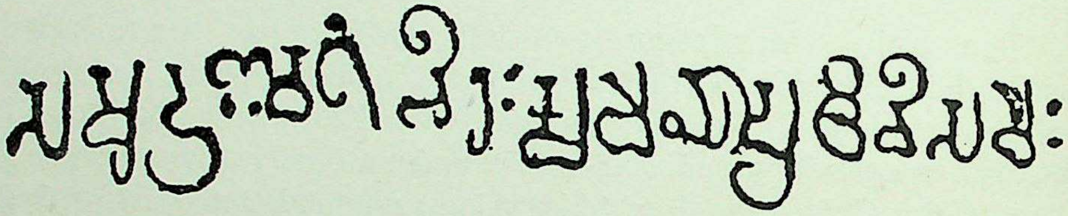

Fig. 116. *The line śamudra iva gambhīrah kshamayā pṛithivīsamaḥ' from the Mahākuṭa pillar inscription, Western Chāḷukya, 6th century A.D.*

pṛithivīsamaḥ (*Ind. Ant.* 19, p. 17) following Vālmīki's lines *samudra iva gāmbhīrye dhairyeṇa himavān iva kālāgnisadṛiśaḥ krodhe kshamayā pṛithivīsamaḥ* (*Rāmāyaṇa* 1, 1, 17-18). Another line from the same inscription *jyeshṭhas śreshṭhaguṇasamudayoditapururaṇaparākramāṅkapriyaḥ* (*Ind. Ant.* 19, p, 17) is after the line (Fig. 117) *jyeshṭham*

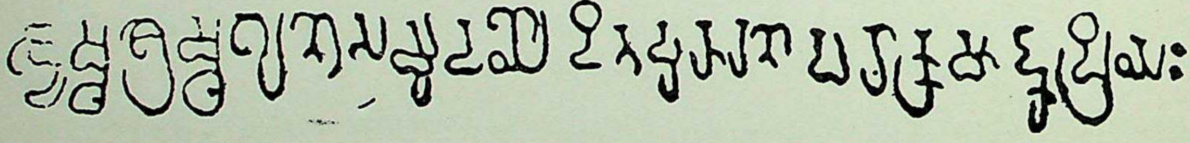

Fig. 117. *The line 'jyeshṭhas śreshṭhaguṇa samudayoditapururaṇaparākramāṅka priyaḥ' from the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription, Western Chāḷukya, 6th century A.D.*

sreshṭhaguṇair yuktam priyam daśarathas sutam (*Rāmāyaṇa* 1, 1, 20). In the Satāra grant of the Eastern Chāḷukyan king Vishṇuvardhana, nephew of Maṅgaḷeśa, the lines (Fig. 118) *tasya putro mahātejāḥ kandarpa iva mūrtimān dharmajñaścha kṛitajñaścha pārthatulyaparākramaḥ* (*Ind. Ant.* 19, p. 309) are clearly after those in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *rūpavān subhagas śrīmam kandarpa iva mūrtimān* and *dharmajñaścha kṛitajñaścha satyavākyo dṛiḍhavrataḥ* (*Rāmāyaṇa* 5, 34, 30 and 1, 1, 2). Among the Pallava *biruda* inscriptions of Narasiṁhavarman at Mahābalipuram one on an ornamental pavilion of the Dharmarāja-

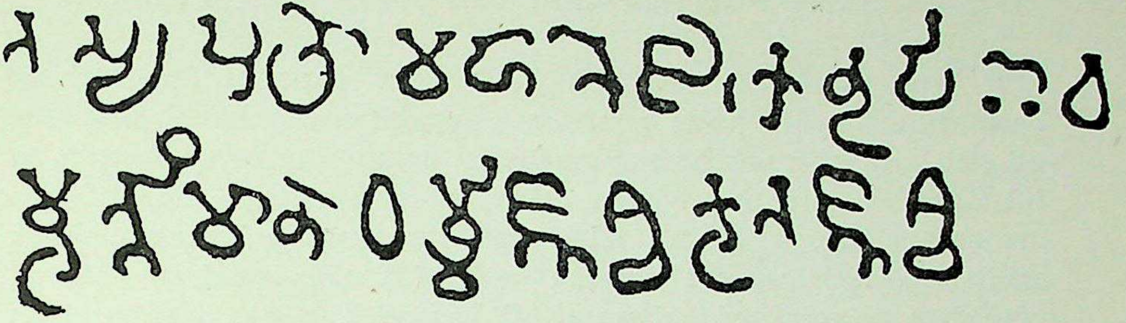

Fig. 118. *The line 'tasya putro mahatejāḥ kandarpa iva mūrtimān dharmajñaścha kṛitajñaścha' from the Satāra grant, Eastern Chāḷukya, 7th century A.D.*

ratha (Fig. 119) runs as *satyaparākramaḥ* (*S. Ind. Inscr.* 1, p. 4) after

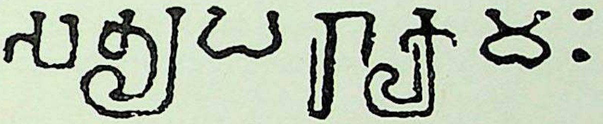

Fig. 119. *The line 'satyaparākramcḥ' from the Dharmarājaratha at Mahābalipuram. Pallava, 7th century A.D.*

one of the epithets used by Vālmīki to describe Rāma *divyair guṇais śakrasamo rāmas satyaparākramaḥ* (*Rāmāyaṇa* 2, 2, 28). In Ravikirti's Aihoḷe inscription the line (Fig. 120) *jalanidhir iva vyoma vyomnas*

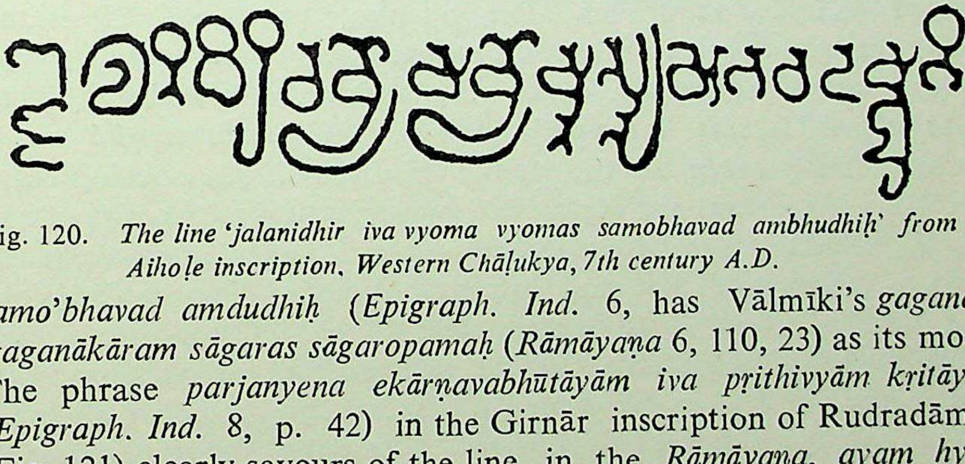

Fig. 120. *The line 'jalanidhir iva vyoma vyomas samobhavad ambhudhiḥ' from the Aihoḷe inscription, Western Chāḷukya, 7th century A.D.*

samo'bhavad amdudhiḥ (*Epigraph. Ind.* 6, has Vālmīki's *gaganam. gaganākāram sāgaras sāgaropamaḥ* (*Rāmāyaṇa* 6, 110, 23) as its model The phrase *parjanyena ekārṇavabhūtāyām iva pṛithivyām kṛitāyām* (*Epigraph. Ind.* 8, p. 42) in the Girnār inscription of Rudradāman (Fig. 121) clearly savours of the line in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *ayam hyut-*

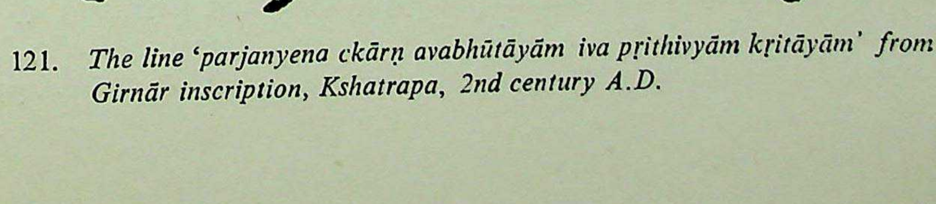

Fig. 121. *The line 'parjanyena ckārṇ avabhūtāyām iva pṛithivyām kṛitāyām' from the Girnār inscription, Kshatrapa, 2nd century A.D.*

sahate kruddhaḥ kartum ekarṇavam jagat (*Rāmayaṇa* 5, 49, 20).

Whole verses and passages from other important poets have been utilised by the poets composing inscriptions. I have elsewhere pointed out the indebtedness of poets composing royal charters to Kālidāsa. Among other poets Bāṇa is pre-eminent. One of the invocatory verses of his *Kādambarī*, *jayanti bāṇāsuramaulilālitāḥ daśāsyachūḍāmaṇichakrachumbinaḥ surāsurādhīśaśikhāntaśāyino bhavachchhidas tryambakapādapāmsavaḥ* (*Kādambarī* 1, 2) has been used as an invocatory verse in Mahārāja Kumārapāla's Rewah plates (*Ind. Ant.* 17, p. 230, 232). The opening verse of Bāṇa's *Harshacharita*, *namastuṅgaśiraśchumbichandrachāmarachārave trailokyanagarārambhamūlastambhāya śambhave* begins many later Western Chāḷukyan inscriptions and is invariably used as the invocatory verse of Vijayanagar inscriptions.

Similarly, the third invocatory verse of the Rewah plates of Trailokyamalla Kalachuri (*Epigraph. Ind.* 25, p. 5) is a copy of Daṇḍin's praise to Sarasvatī in his *Kāvyādarśa*, *chaturmukhamukhāmbhojavanahaṁsavadhūr mama mānase ramatām nityam sarvaśuklā sarasvatī* (*Kāvyādarśa* 1, 1,). The opening verses of the same inscription *jayatu jayatu devo devakīnandanoyam jayatu jayatu kṛishṇo vṛishṇivamśapradīpaḥ jayatu jayatu meghaśyāmalaḥ komalāṅgo jayatu jayatu pṛithvībhāranāśo mukundaḥ* is from the *Mukundamālā stotra* of Kulaśekhara where it occurs as the third verse. The opening verse of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*, *vāgarthāviva sampṛiktau vāgarthapratipattaye jagataḥ pitarau vande pārvatīparameśvarau* is repeated *intoto* in the invocatory verse of the Huḷi inscription of the Western Chāḷukya king Vikramāditya VI (*Epigraph. Ind.* 18, p. 197). Similarly, the *maṅgalaśloka* of Kālidāsa's *Abhijñānaśākuntalam*, *yā sṛishṭis srashṭur ādyā vahati vidhihutam yā havir yā cha hotrī ye dve kālam vidhattas śrutivishayaguṇā yā sthitā vyāpya viśvam yām āhus sarvabhūtaprakṛitir iti yayā prāṇinaḥ prāṇavantaḥ pratyakshābhiḥ prapannas tanubhir avatu vas tābhir ashṭābhir īśaḥ* is an invocatory verse in an inscription from Rājasthān (*Epigraph. Ind.* 11, p. 65). Clearly after the opening verse of the *Daśakumāracharita*, *brahmāṇḍachhatradaṇḍas śatadhṛitibhavanāmbhoruhonāladaṇḍaḥ kshoṇīnaukūpadaṇḍaḥ ksharadamarasaritpaṭṭikāketudaṇḍaḥ jyotiśchakrākshadaṇḍas tribhuvanavijayastambhadaṇḍonghridaṇḍaḥ śreyas traivikramas te vitaratu vibudhadveshinām kāladaṇḍaḥ* is the invocatory verse of the Paṭhāri inscription of Parabala *tribhuvanavijayastambho nabhasthalāmbhodhisetur aghadahanaḥ brahmāṇḍamaṇḍalāmbujadaṇḍaruchir jayati haricharaṇaḥ* (*Epigraph. Ind.* 9, p. 252).

The line (Fig. 122) *nalinīdalagatajalam atitaralam* from

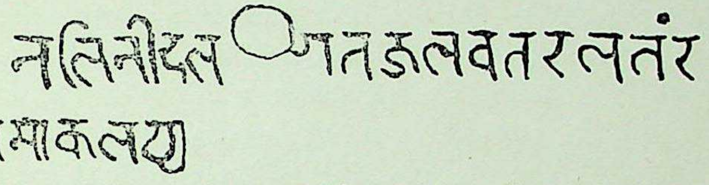

Fig. 122 *The line 'nalinīdalagatajalavat taralalaram jīvitam ākalayya' from the Sevaḍi copper plate, Chāhamāna, 12th century A.D.*

Śaṅkarāchārya's *Bhajagovinda stotra* occurring in the Sevaḍi plates of Chāhamāna Ratnapāla (*Epigraph. Ind.* 11, p. 310) is interesting proof of the genuineness of this important work and also as an index of the general influence of these inspiring writings.

The literary value of the inscriptions is clear from the language and ideas in the *praśastis*. In the earliest example of a pure Sanskrit inscription, Rudradāman's *praśasti* at Girnār, the language is really charming. As already pointed out, in some places there is an unconscious lisp and repetition of expressions of the *Ādikavi* Vālmīki. Both *śabdālaṅkāra* and *arthālaṅkāra* are present but it is the former that predominates. The sweet play of soft words and syllables is beautifully expressed in the words of Kālidāsa where they abound. The *anuprāsas* and *yamakas* in Kālidāsa are very sweet. His language abounds in such expressions as *tato mṛigendrasya mṛigendrāgāmī vadhāya vadhyasya śaram śaraṇyaḥ* (*Raghuvamśa*, 2, 30), *bālām abālendumukhīm babhāshe* (*Raghuvamśa* 6, 53), *indum navotthānam ivendumatyai* (*Raghuvamśa* 6, 31), *asau śaraṇyas śaraṇonmukhānām* (*Raghuvamśa* 6,21), *paprachchha kuśalam rājye rājyāśramamunim muniḥ*(*Raghuvamśa* 1,58), *kulapradīpo nṛipatir dilīpaḥ* (*Raghuvamśa*,6,74), *paprachchha bhadram vijitāribhadraḥ* (*Raghuvamśa*, 14,32), *iti rāmo vṛishasyantīm vṛishaskandhas śaśāsa tām* (*Raghuvamśa* 12, 34), *kṛichchhralabdham api labdhavarṇabhāk* (*Raghuvamśa* 11, 2). As example of the *yamakas* we have all the verses of the ninth canto of the *Raghuvamśa*, besides others. Such examples in this inscription are to be seen in passages like *gurubhir abhyastanāmno rudradāmno* (1.4), *abhidheyānām yaudhe-*

yānām (1.12), *hastochchhṛitārjitorjita* (1.13), *dānamānāvamāna* (1.14), *mahākshatrapanāmnā....pratāpadāmnā rudradāmnā* etc. Examples like this occur in other inscriptions, as for instance, the lines *sutaḥ prasūto yaśasām prasūtiḥ, dharmato dharmadoshaḥ, kṛita iva kṛitam etat* in the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman and *samavatu vasudhārā dharmapīyūshadhārā* in the Sārnāth inscription of Kumāradevī (*Epigraph. Ind.* 9 p. 323). Combining a tendency of echo with *anuprāsa* runs the line *kāritā śālā śrīviśālā* (*Epigraph. Ind.* 4, p. 60) and reminds us of Kālidāsa's *śrīviśālām viśālām* in the *Meghadūta*. The line in the Pehoa *praśasti* of Mahendrapāla *saralitaprachurālakajālakāḥ* (*Epigraph. Ind.* 1, p. 246) is an excellent example recalling similar *yamaka* in the verses of the ninth canto of the *Raghuvamśa*. The composition of the Kāngrā Jwālāmukhī *praśasti* composed by Rāghavachaitanya, a poet often quoted reverentially in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* is one string of *anuprāsas* in which it abounds (*Epigraph. Ind.* 1, p. 192). *Chhekānuprāsa* is illustrated in lines like *chakre kṛitī sumanasām manasām akasmād asmād akālakalikālavirāmaśaṅkām* in Khajuraho inscription *II* (*Epigraph. Ind.* 1, p. 129). *Vrityanuprāsa* has such examples as *maulāvindudharaḥ phaṇādharadharas skandhe bhavānīdharo vāme kāmadharaḥ praṇāmanirate gaṅgādharo mūrdhani mūrtau dhūlidharo gale garadharaḥ keśeshu veṇīdharaḥ pāṇau śūladharo haraḥ puraharaḥ pushṇātu vo maṅgalam* in the Kaśākuḍi plates of Nandivarman (*S. Ind. Inscr.* 2, p. 346). Fine examples of *lāṭānuprāsa* are given in the Paṭhāri inscription of Parabala *ahimakarachakrakuvalayavilasatkamalālayas sadānavakāyaḥ jalanidhir iva hariravatāt purāṇapurusho'pi yas sadā navakāyaḥ, śakalīkṛitasarvāṅgā nānābharaṇabhūshitāḥ dṛiśyante ripavo yasya nānābharaṇabhūshitāḥ* (*Epigraph. Ind.* 9, p. 252-253). Kielhorn's remarks about the poetry of this inscription are particularly interesting in the light of the value he has attached to the piece and the pains he has taken in reconstructing the text of Harsha, the author of the *praśasti*. All the type of *anuprāsas* and *yamakas* are found in inscriptional literature. An example of *vakrokti* is found in the verse *kas tvam dvāri digambaraḥ kshapaṇakaḥ kasmād akasmād aho bāle śūladharo dhigāyudhavidhim barhās tvadarhā nanu mām janīhi maheśvaram sphuṭam idam vastrepyabhāvād iti preyasyā parihāsato vihasitam śambhos śubhāyāstu vaḥ* of the Khajuraho inscriptions IV composed by Rāma (*Epigraph. Ind.* 1, p. 140).

As for the *arthālaṅkara* variety, the examples are as varied and interesting. A few samples will suffice, *Upamā* of the *dharmopameyalupta* type may be seen in the verse *abdhau muktāyamānā śirasi himagirer abhragaṅgāyamānā vyomni jyotsnāyamānā diśi diśi kariṇām kumbhamālāyamānā uchchair devālayānām upari sitapatākāyamānā yadīyā kīrtir bhrāntā samantād anunadi puline rājahamsīyamānā* of the Dewal *praśasti* of Lalla (*Epigraph. Ind.* 1, p. 79).

Rūpaka is illustrated in verses like *diksundarīvadanachandanapatrabhaṅgalīlāyamānaghanavistṛitakāntakīrteḥ śrīrāshṭrakūṭakulaśailam alaṅkarishṇos tasmād abhūnnirupamo niravadyaśauryaḥ* from the pen of Trivikrama, the famous author of the *Nalachampū*, in a Rāshṭrakūṭa record of Indrarāja (*Epigraph. Ind.* 9, p. 30), or *herambasya vikalpadantamukulam gaurīrahasyotsavapratyāsannavilāsadīpakālikā gaṅgāmṛiṇālāṅkuraḥ devasya tripuradruho vijayinā pushpeshuṇā mastake vinyastāṅkuravibhramā vijayate chūḍāsudhamśoḥ kalā* in the Chebrolu inscription of Jaya (*Epigraph. Ind.* 5, p. 142).

Utprekshā is illustrated in verses like *yadadhvarollāsihutāśadhūmalekhās sphuṭānekavibhaṅgibhājaḥ digaṅganāpīnapayodhareshu vilāsaveṇīśriyam āśrayanti* from the Baṭeśvar inscription of Paramardideva (*Epigraph. Ind.* 1, p. 210).

The opening verse of Rājendrachoḷa's Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates *svasti śrīkaṇṭhakaṇṭhābharaṇabhujagarāṇmūrdhni māṇikyamadhye dṛishṭvātmīyām salajjā pratikṛitim aparām aṅganām śaṅkamānā aśleshālolachittam kṛitacharaṇanatiprārthanam vo bhavānī diśyāt paśyantyadhīram nijapatim aniśam sershyam ardhekshaṇena* (*S. Ind. Inscr.* 3,p.393), and in the verse *bhrāmyantīnām vanānte yadarimṛigadṛiśām hāramuktāphalāni chinchhinnākīrṇāni bhūmau nayanjaalamilatkajjalair lāñchhitāni yatnāt chinvanti darbhakshatacharaṇatalāsṛigviliptāni guñjāsragbhūshāramyarāmāstanakalaśaghanāśleshalolāḥ pulindāḥ* from the Naihati inscription of Vallālasena (*Epigraph. Ind.* 14, p.160) are examples of *Bhrāntimat*.

Smaraṇa is illustrated in another, a pathetic verse from the same inscription of Vallālasena *yasyārirājaśiśavasśabarālayeshu bālair alīkanaranāthapade'bhishiktāḥ dṛiptāḥ pramodataralekshaṇayā jananyā niśvasya vatsalatayā sabhayam nishiddhāḥ* (*Epigraph. Ind.* 14, p. 160), and another *udyaddīdhitiratnajālajaṭilam vyākṛishṭam īdṛik dhanuḥ kruddhenopari vairivīraśirasām evam vimuktās śarāḥ dhārāsāriṇi sendrachāpa-*

valaye yasyettham abdāgame garjadgurjarasamgaravyatikaram jīrṇo janas śamsati by the poet Trivikrama in the Rāshṭrakūṭa record mentioned (*Epigraph. Ind.* 9, p. 31).

Ullekha has a good example in a verse of Nṛisiṁha, the poet of the 12th century Sihola stone inscription of Karṇarāja *kandarpabāṇagaṇaśāṇaśilāmanojño dikkāminīvadanadarpaṇamaṇḍalaśrīḥ devas śaśī vijayate'tritapaḥpayodhimuktāphalam haraśiromukuṭaikaratnam* (*Epigraph. Ind.* 9, p. 185) and in the verse from the famous Pallava temple of Kailāsanātha from Kāñchīpuram *kalāchaturayoshitām rahasi rañjane manmathas trayīpathanisheviṇām satatapālane vāsavaḥ munidvijasuradvishām hṛidayadāraṇe mādhavas sa cha draviṇasampadā sujanatoshaṇe vittadaḥ* (*S. Ind. Inscr.* 1, p. 12).

Samāsokti is illustrated in another verse of Trivikrama *kṛitvāspadam hṛidayahāri jaghanyabhāge svairam punar mṛidu vimardya cha madhyadeśam yasyāsamasya samare vasudhāṅganāyāḥ kāñchīpade padam akāri kareṇa bhūyaḥ* (*Epigraph. Ind.*9, p. 30).

The verse *bharata iva sarvadamanas sagara iva kṛitāsamañjasatyāgaḥ karṇa iva pushkalāṅgo yaḥ priyakāvyo yayātir iva* from the Kūram grant of Parameśvaravarman(*S. Ind. Inscr.* 1,p. 148) is an example of *Ślesha*, as also the line *vyapagatavishayasneho hatatimiradaśaḥ pradīpavad asaṅgaḥ* from the Bodhgayā inscription of Mahānāman (*C. Inscr. Ind.* 3, p. 276) and more examples may be seen in verses like *yaśodānandabhāk chakre pūtanāmā raṇakriyām jāto vṛishṇikule kam sa ripoḥ chchhettā narottamaḥ*, from the Khajuraho inscription (*Epigraph. Ind.* 1, p. 145) and *pītāmbaram yasya yaśo babhūva sudarśanam yasya vapur vijajñe guṇotkaro yasya cha nandako'bhūd āsīt sa tasmāt purushottamākhyaḥ* from the Baṭeśvar inscription (*Epigraph. Ind.* 1, p. 211).

In the verse of the Masulipatam plates of Vijayāditya III *yasminārūḍhadantinyarikulam adhisamrohati kshmābhṛidagram yadbāhāvāttakhaḍge ripuyuvatikarā gṛihṇate chāmarāṇi ābaddhāyām bhṛikuṭyām madhu ripubhavane yasya badhnanti bhṛiṅgā yaddhāmanyājibherīdhvananam anu śivās śatrudhāmni dhvananti* (*Epigraph. Ind.* 5, p. 124) there is an example of *Sahokti* of which another illustration may be seen in *nāmnaiva yasya ramaṇāṅkavivartinīnām romāñchavepathubhṛitām arisun-*

darīṇām aśrūṇi bāhuvalayāni manāmsi sadyas santrāsavegavidhurāṇi samam nipetuḥ in the Bhaṇḍak plates of Kṛishṇa I (*Epigraph. Ind.* 14, p. 124).

Virodha and *Virodhābhāsa* are respectively illustrated in the verses *dāridryam haratārthino ripujanāllakshmīm mano yoshito rūpam pañchaśarāḍ agādhapayaso gāmbhīryam ambhonidheḥ chitram yena vichārachārumanasām āchāram ātanvatā sarvatraiva janāpavādarahitam chauryam prakāśīkṛitam* and *dhanado'pi na pramatto dhvastasamastas savishopi na virūpaḥ ratnākaro'pi na jaḍo yo nāśoko'pi rāgishṭhaḥ* from an inscription in the Vaillabhaṭṭasvāmi temple in Gwalior (*Epigraph. Ind.* 1, p. 156).

A verse of Umāpatidhara from the famous Deopara *praśasti* gives an example of *Adhika* in the verse *uchchitrāṇi digaṁbarasya vasanānyardhāṅganāsvāmino ratnālaṅkṛitibhir viśeshitavapuśśobhās śatam subhruvaḥ paurāḍhyāścha purīs śmaśānavasater bhikshābhujopyakshayām lakshmīm sa vyatanod daridrabharaṇe sujño hi senānvayaḥ* (*Epigraph. Ind.* 1, p. 310).

Yathāsamkhya mixed up with *Upamā* is found in the verse *chalatpatākānyabalāsanāthānyatyarthaśuklānyadhikonnatāni taḍillatāchitrasitābhrakūṭatulyopamānāni gṛihāṇi yatra* of the Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman (*C. Inscr. Ind.* 3, p. 81).

As an example of *Vyājastuti* are the lines from the Nāgārjunī cave inscription of Anantavarman Maukharī *āsit sarvamahīkshitām manur iva kshatrasthiter deśikas śrimān mattagajendrakhelagamanas śrīyajñavarmā nṛipaḥ yasyāhūtasahasranetravirahakshāmā sadaivādhvaraiḥ paulomī chiram aśrupātamalinam dhatte kapolaśriyam* (*C. Inscr. Ind.* 3, p. 224).

So far *padya* (verse) has been considered. *Gadya* (prose), however, has always been held by the Sanskrit poets as the touchstone for judging poetic ability. In all Sanskrit literature none can equal Bāṇa in his majestic flow of language, rhythm in the construction of sentences and dazzle in the meanings and suggestions that appear on the surface and peep from deeper recess. The most typical models of Sanskrit prose composition are the passages in his *Harshacharita* where the unbridled flame of intellectual youth is evident. The *Kādambarī* which abounds in equally fine passages shows the poet mellow and moderate in his expressions with experience and age. As Bhāsa is styled as smile incarnatc (*hāsa*) and Kālidāsa as sport (*vilāsa*), similarly Bāṇa is passion incarnate (*pañchabāṇa*). Bāṇa has been the model for all prose compositions and in the lines *soyam narapatimakuṭamakarikāmarakataprabhāpaṭalapallavitapādapīṭho gajapatigalagarjitapralayapañchānanas triśaṅkapatikapaṭapāṭanakrakachapātas chapalapañchālachūlachumbanachaṇachandrahāso giripatipichupiṇḍachaṇḍamārutaḥ kavalitakalikālakapaṭapiṭako nirvāṇapathikadarśanasamadhigatasakaladarśanasvarasapeśalajñānasampadvijitamunimanovṛittir āśrayas śreyasām sarvavidyānām ālayaḥ kalānām ādhāras svāmisampadām paramabhaṭṭārakamahārājādhirajaparameśvavaraparamamāheśvaranijabhujopārjitāśrīkanyakubjādhipatyaśrīmachchandrādityadevo vijayī* in Chandradeva's plates (*Epigraph. Ind.* 14, p. 193-195) the echo of Bāṇa's language is obvious. The descriptive epithets in the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman *kaliyugaparākramākalitavigrahasya samuchchhvāsa iva bhagavato dharamasyādhishṭhānam āspadam guṇānām nidhiḥ praṇayinām upaghnas samtrastānām śrīsaṁpadām āyatanam* (*Epigrah. Ind.* 19, p. 118) are clearly contemporary imitation of the great court poet of the paramount sovereign of the time.

Sometimes there are also examples of didactic poetry. In the Saraṅgarh plates the verse *yauvanam vividhair bhogair madhyamam cha vayaḥ śriyā vriddhabhāvaścha dharmeṇa yasya yāti sa puṇyavān* (*Epigraph. Ind.* 9, p. 280) suggests the equal allocation of time in ones life to the *purushārthas* namely *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*. Kālidāsa's *vayorūpavibhūtīnām ekaikam madakāraṇam tāni tasmin samastāni na tasyotsishiche manaḥ* (*Raghuvaṁśa* 17, 43) and Bāṇa's *garbheśvaratvam abhinavayauvanatvam apratimarūpatvam amānushaśaktitvam cheti mahatīyam khalvanarthaparamparā sarvā, avinayānām ekaikam apyeshām āyatanam, kimuta samavāyaḥ* (*Kādambarī* p. 196) have strange inscriptional echo in the verse *śauryam śrīr yauvanam rājyam ekaikam madakārakam sarvam śrīmānabhītasya nirvikārām upasthitam* from the Kondeḍḍa plates of Dharmarāja (*Epigraph. Ind.* 29, p. 269).

Most of the verses of Kākutsthavarman's Tālagunda inscription are very interesting as they are composed in a metre rarely found elsewhere. Similarly in the Addanki inscription of Paṇḍaraṅga the metre is special and proves its occurrence in very early Telugu.

The early Sanskrit inscriptions in Indoṇesia, Borneo, Cambodia and other countries of South East Asia show a thorough assimilation of Sanskrit literature and breathe its fragrance in addition to the close parallelism in palaeography and ideology. It is remarkable indeed that the inscription of Mahendravaram from Bangkok on the completion of the tank Śaṅkarataṭāka (Fig. 123), *yas śrī mahendravarmeti mahendra iva viśrutaḥ sa śaṅkarataṭākākhyam chakāremam jalāśayam* (*Expansion of Indo Aryan Culture*, p. 100) is so close to Pallava Mahendravarman's *mahitatamam satām upamahendrataṭākam idam sthiram uru kāritam guṇabhareṇa vidārya śilām jananayanābhirāma guṇadhāma mahendrapure mahati mahendravishṇugṛihanāma murārigṛiham* (*Epigraph. Ind.* 4, p. 153), in script exactly the same, both close to a large tank dug by them and both in spirit alike.

Interesting again is the close echo of classics in inscriptions so far away from India and so early in date. In one of the *yūpa* inscriptions of Mūlavarman from Borneo, the opening line *jayatyatibalas śrīmān śrī mūlavarmā nṛipaḥ* (*Expansion of Indo Aryan Culture* p. 89) recalls *jayatyatibalo rāmo lakshmaṇaścha mahābalaḥ* (*Rāmāyaṇa* 5, 42, 33). Similarly the line *tasya putrā mahātmānaḥ trayas traya ivāgnayaḥ* (Fig. 124) recalls Kālidāsa's *itare'pi raghor vamśyās trayas tretāgnitejasaḥ* (*Raghuvamśa* 15, 35) remarkably. The numerous Sanskrit inscriptions found in these distant islands show the extent to which Indian culture penetrated, which is also testified by the sculpture in these places.

In India the greatest unifying factor has been Sanskrit, rich and colourful in its composition and content. The language of the *kāvya*, with the greatest appeal, enjoyed the position of the language of the court. There was no geographical or linguistic barrier for a scholar in that language anywhere in the land, and India abounded in Sanskrit scholarship. The state language of India was Sanskrit in all the inscriptions of North India, whether of the medieval dynasties like the Vardhanas, Maukharīs, Pratīhāras, Paramāras, Chandellas, Pālas, Senas, Gāhaḍavālas, Haihayas, Gaṅgas, in short, of any Northern dynasty. The Southern dynasties had also Sanskrit as the principal official language and almost all the grants are completely or nearly so in Sanskrit. The script used in all North Indian inscrciptions is Nāgarī in one form or the other, though the form differs in different geographical areas. In South India and the Deccan not only is the script different in different areas but also the regional language used for inscriptions alongside of Sanskrit. The Rāshṭrakūṭa inscriptions are mostly in Nāgarī characters and in the Sanskrit language though sometimes they are in Canarese Telugu script, the language being either Sanskrit or Canarese or a jumble of both. Similarly in the Eastern Gaṅga inscriptions, the script used is sometimes Nāgarī and mostly the Canarese Telugu type. In the inscriptions from the Tamil areas both Grantha and Tamil scripts are used, the former for Sanskrit and the latter for the Tamil portion of the inscription. In the Telugu area similarly the Canarese Telugu script is used for both Sanskrit and Telugu portions of the inscriptions.

The three important South Indian languages, Tamil, Canarese and Telugu, are almost the only regional languages used in inscriptions

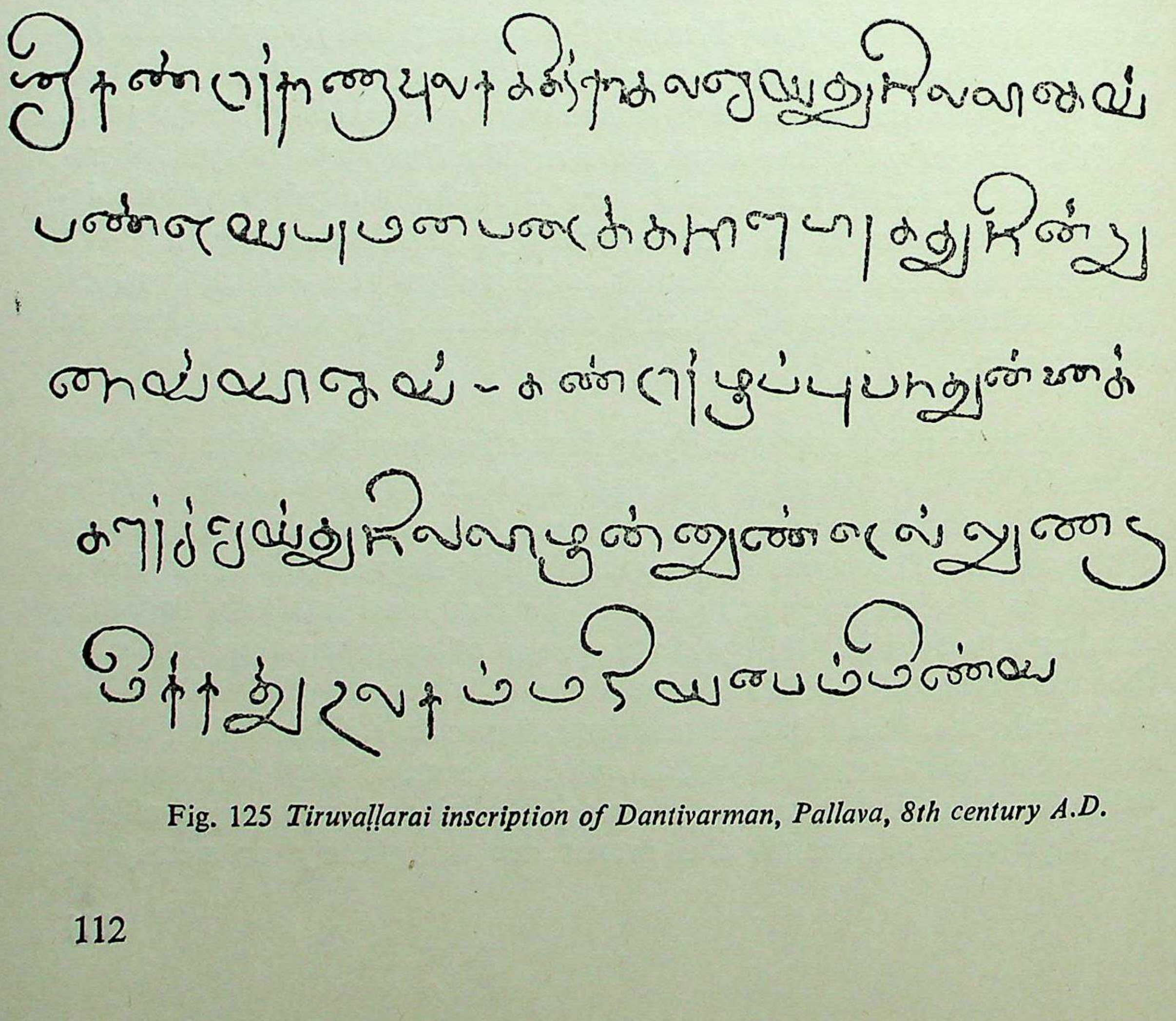

Fig. 125 *Tiruvaḷḷarai inscription of Dantivarman, Pallava, 8th century A.D.*

in India, barring Prākṛit used in early inscriptions. While in North India, kings used the official language Sanskrit for the inscriptions, in South India the regional languages were greatly favoured together with Sanskrit that was given the first place as the accepted court language. The great and numerous *meykīrtis* or eulogies of royal dynasties in Tamil which supply most of the material for the history of the Choḷa and Pāṇḍya dynasties are patterns of composition in themselves. Tamil Pallava inscriptions like Dantivarman's Triruvaḷḷarai inscription are contributions to the Tamil literature (Fig. 125). The special sense in which the terms were used in these Tamil inscriptions are so numerous, the vocabulary so rich, the expression so elegant,and the diction so dignified that Tamil literature has been greatly enriched by this inscriptional literature. There is practically no pillar or wall of a temple, specially the plinth of a Choḷa temple, which has not lengthy inscriptions on the exploits of the king or his numerous gifts or institutions he established. Indeed, the beautiful description of royal exploits, rich in rhythm and colour of language, vie only with the greatness of the exploits themselves. The Choḷas and the Pāṇḍyas were among the greatest patrons of Tamil literature. And the great composers of the *Tevāram*, Appar and Sambandar were contemporaries of the Pallavas, who greatly honoured them. It is interesting to note that not only the opening verse of the great *Tiruvāchakam* of Māṇikkavāchaka is inscribed on the palm leaf shown in the hand of the bronze figure of the saint

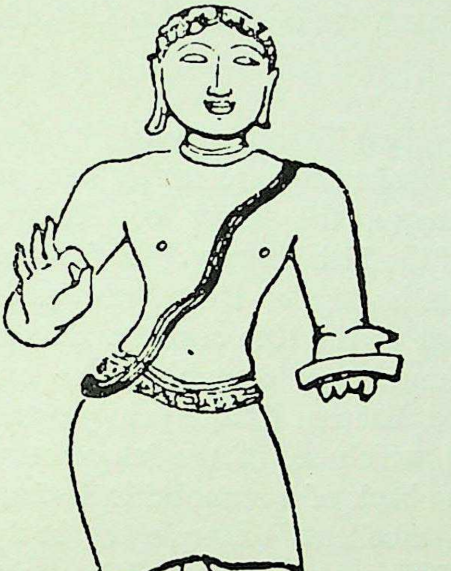

Fig. 126 *Metal image of Māṇīkkavāchaka with the opening verses of Tiruvāchakam inscribed on the book in the hand.*

from Mudukkūr, Tañjāvūr district, discovered nearly five decades ago as Treasure Trove and returned to the villagers for worship (Fig. 126), but also some of the hymns, inscribed on the walls of the temple at Tiruvaḍavāyil, Tañjāvūr district in Choḷa characters of the 9th Century A.D.

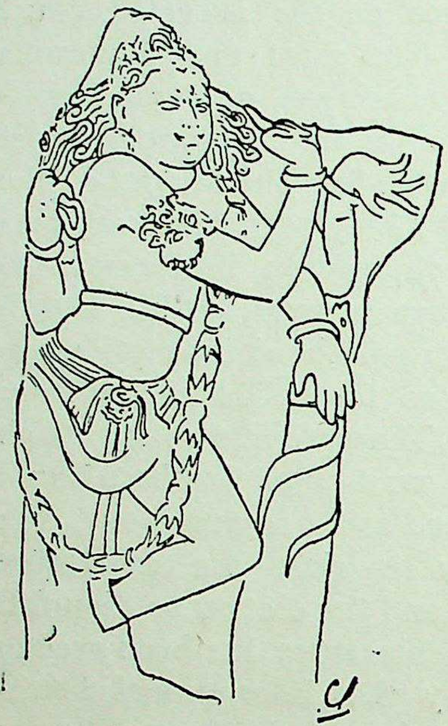

Fig. 127a. *Dvārapāla, Eastern Chālukya, 7th century A.D., Bezwāḍa, Madras Museum.*

The earliest Telugu works like the *Āndhra Mahābhāratamu* are rather late, as Nannaya bhaṭṭa, the father of Telugu poetry, is of the 11th century. The famous Yuddhamalla inscription from Bezwāḍa is in the script of the 10th century. Earlier still is the inscription discribing the exploits of the Eastern Chāḷukyan general Paṇḍaraṅga which is of the 9th century A.D. On the back of a monolithic Dvārapālaka, an excellent example of early Eastern Chāḷukyan work which I brought thirynine years ago from Bezwāḍa to the Madras Museum, an inscription was found reading *veginâthu veḷaṇḍu* (Fig. 127, 128), meaning 'servant of the lord of Vegi' in letters of the seventh century A.D. This is a very early instance of the use of Telugu in inscriptions. In an inscription, a portion

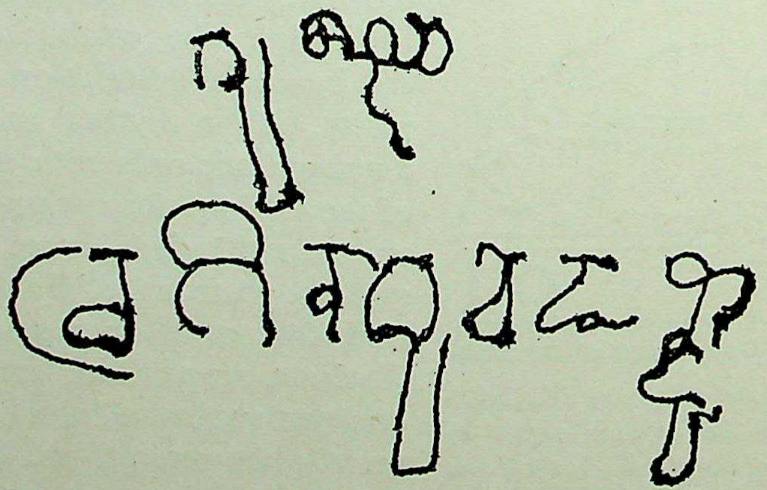

Fig. 127b *Inscription on back of dvārapāla, guṇḍaya vegināthu veḷaṇḍu.*

of which is in Telugu, the poet Śrīnātha, the doyen of Telugu literature, is described as the composer of the inscription. The Eastern Chāḷukyan, Reḍḍi and Vijayanagar kings were great patrons of Telugu literature and along with Sanskrit, the official language, the regional language had its due place in inscriptions. Though even in the Canarese area Sanskrit occupies a pre-eminent position in inscriptions, Canarese has equally its place alongside.

It is therefore, clear that the contribution of India to epigraphy and literature, that have gone closely hand in hand, in the great subcontinent and the several countries of South East Asia is marked by a fecundity and richness of which naturally we should indeed be proud.

CHAPTER FOUR

ARCHITECTURE

The earliest architectural patterns, forts, city gateways, mansions and palaces in India, are represented at Bhārhut, Sāñchī, Mathurā, Amarāvatī and other monuments. Coomaraswamy has gone even so far as to follow the story identified, the city where the scene is laid, and associate the city gateway or palace or *chaitya* temple as the case may be, with the city and name it so in his discussions. To understand clearly the significance of these sculptural depictions, the literary description in certain passages in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and other early works prove a great help.

Surrounding the impregnable wall of the city is a large moat, *parikhā*, described as adorned with lotuses : *puṇḍarīkāvatamsābhiḥ parikhābhis samāvṛitam*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, 5, 4, 15 : *parikhābhis sapadmābhis sotpalābhir alaṁkṛitam*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, 5, 2, 14. This is a detail most faithfully portrayed in early representations of the moat as at Sāñchī and elsewhere.

Beyond the moat is the *prākāra* or the rampart wall surrounding and effectively protecting the city from the gaze of the outer world. There are high walls shown in early sculpture with zigurat patterns on top as at Sāñchī (Fig. 129) and sometimes with a plain top line as at Amarāvatī: *prākārāvṛitam atyantam dadarśa sa mahākapiḥ*, *Rāmāyaṇa* 5, 4, 25. *Vapra* always goes with *prākāra* as the enclosure wall and battlements go together. Vālmīki poetically calls the *vapra-prākāra* complex as the hip of the city goddess *vapraprākārajaghanām* ; and Kālidāsa fancies the river Narmadā, almost a moat around the fortified city of Māhishmatī as a water girdle on her *vapra* hip : *māhishmatīvapranitaṁbakāñchīm*, *Raghuvamśa* 6, 43.

The line of the *prākāra* wall is broken at intervals by *gopurāṭṭālakas*. *Aṭṭālakas* are huge towers and every gateway was provided with such towers for watch and defence. These are known as *gopurāṭṭālakas*. The sky is rent and dropped as it were by the lofty mansions, temples and gate-towers rubbing against it in the city of Padmāvatī ; *uttuṅgasaudhasuramandiragopurāṭṭasaṅghaṭṭapātitavimuktam ivāntariksham*, *Mālatīmādhava* 9, 1. The term *gopuāṭṭālaka* emphasises the lofty towers of the gateway, while *aṭṭagopura* stresses the principal gateway of the city adorned by lofty towers (Fig. 130). This is the most important structure, and the most imposing, and Hanumān is satisfied that it is well burnt : *puchchhena cha pradīptena tām purīm sāṭṭagopurām*, *Rāmāyaṇa* 5, 58, 155. *Aṭṭa*, *prākāra* and *toraṇa* are very often mentioned together since they go together: *drakshyāmi nagarīm laṅkām sāṭṭaprākāratoraṇām*, *Rāmāyaṇā* 5, 3, 33 ; *saparvatavanoddeśām sāṭṭaprākāratoraṇām*, *Rāmayāṇa* 5, 37, 29. There are two kinds of gateways, the separate arched one outside the tower gate, and the tower gate itself. These are represented in early sculptures from Sāñchī, Amarāvatī and elsewhere and described in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. A good plan of *gopura-aṭṭālaka* according to the *Arthaśāstra* and early sculptures is give by Coomaraswamy in his illuminating paper Early Indian Architecture (*Eastern Art* Vol. 2) along with photo illustrations of city gates. In a representation of a city gateway from an Amarāvatī sculpture there are both the *aṭṭālakas* and the central *śāla* shown.

The *toraṇa* or arched gateway is one of the most lovely creations of the Indian architect and its best surviving representations are at Sāñchī (Fig. 131). Vālmīki has described the *toraṇas* of Laṅkā as glorious specimens of decorative work with creeper patterns all of gold ; and the oldest surviving *toraṇa* monuments do answer the description : *toraṇaiḥ kāñchaṇar dīptām latāpaṅktivichitritaiḥ*, *Rāmāyaṇa* 5, 2, 18. This creeper decoration is noticed in the *toraṇa* from Amarāvatī where leaves entwine the *stambhas* or jambs. Actual creeper designs abound on the jambs of the *toraṇas* at Sāñchī while at Bhārhut the creeper runs the whole length of the coping, now and again issuing from the mouth of a *yaksha* or a celestial elephant's mouth.

On the *toraṇa* gateway at Sāñchī, goddess Lakshmī is repeatedly represented seated as well as standing. Early representations of Lakshmī are seen in Bhārhut, Bodhgayā, Amarāvatī, Udayagiri and other places. At Sāñchī, Bodhgayā and Udayagiri they are representations of Lakshmī bathed by elephants. Describing the Pushpaka palace of Rāvaṇa, Vālmīki pictures Lakshmī on lotus, lotus in hand, and attended by elephants, carved on it, obviously on the entrance: *niyujyamānāścha gajais suhastā sakesarās chotpalapatrahastā babhūva devī cha kṛitā suhastā lakshmīs tathā padmini padmahastā*, *Rāmāyaṇa* 5, 7, 14. It is interesting to compare this with one of the many early representations, a seated figure from the Sāñchī gateway exactly a parallel of the literary version.

These *toraṇas* are arched and recall the description of Kālidāsa comparing it to the rainbow *surapatidhanuśchāruṇā toraṇena*, *Meghadūta* 2, 15. Whether it is the eastern or the northern gateway, the *sālabhañjikā* or the motif of the damsel gathering flowers under the *sāla* tree is very prominent. In fact the charm of this *toraṇa* lies in this motif that is representented frequently not only here but in Mathurā also in some of the Kushāṇa *toraṇas* which, though now lost, have survivied partially in the *toraṇa-sālabhañjikā* brackets that originally adorned them. One of the noteworthy recent finds of Dr. Hartel in Sonk, in the neighbourhood of Mathurā, is an exceedingly beautiful *toraṇa-sālabhañjikā* excavated there. To understand the beauty of the *toraṇa* adorned by a *sālabhañjikā* and the importance of this motif of the *toraṇa* itself there is the description given by Aśvaghosha in his *Buddhacharita* which is almost a contemporary work just posterior by a little over a century.

The term *sālabhañjikā* was used to connote the game of gathering *sāla* flowers as given by Pāṇini. He has given other examples like *uddalākapushpabhañjikā* and *aśokapushpaprachāyikā* all of which connote games by girls gathering different flowers from the trees. The wonderful picture of girls gathering flowers with the hand in *saṁdaṁśa* is described by Ratnākara in his *Haravijaya*. In *nāṭya*, as Rājānaka Alaka has pointed out, this gathering of flowers is indicated by the use of the *nāṭyahasta saṁdaṁśa*. Sculptures representing this gathering of flowers came to be styled so, particularly the favourite game *sālabhañjikā*. Later the sculpture itself was taken to mean *sālabhañjikā*, the game receding into the background. By the time of Aśvaghosha towards the end of 1st century A.D., the *sālābhañjika* motif used in monuments as a bracket for *toraṇas* was popularly so styled *toraṇasālabhañjikā*, i.e., the *sāḷabhañjikā* decoration of a *toraṇa* gateway (Fig. 132). It thus became an architectural term. The bent position of the damsel under the tree was particularly carefully depicted. Aśvaghosha draws pointed attention to the women near the window watching Prince Siddhārtha and compares their stance and appropriately to the *toraṇasālabhañjikā, avalambya gavākshāpārśvam anyā śayitā chāpavibhugnagātrayashṭiḥ virarāja vilambichāruhārā rachitā toraṇasālabhañjikeva, Buddhacharita* 5, 52. Professor Vogel who first drew attention to this has done a great service to the study of early architectural terms and early motifs in art.

The Sātavāhanas were responsible for some of the most admirable caves of Western India. One of them, Nāsik cave No. 3 has a very peculiar motif of huge titanic demonaic caryatids, monumental in conception and execution, fat and fierce-looking, almost carrying aloft the cave on massive beams resting on their shoulders (Fig. 133). The whole cave as it were seems to have its plinth apart and away from the ground held up on the shoulders of this long row of monstrous caryatid figures. Similar figures also occur at Bhārhut. To understand this sculptural motif in architecture we have only to turn to the early text of the *Rāmāyaṇa* which throws welcome light on it. In describing the Pushpaka palace of Rāvaṇa, Vālmīki describes night prowlers or *rākshasas* with prominent *kuṇḍala* earrings on their ears, voracious eaters justifying their ample waistline and flying highly in the sky, carrying up the Pushpaka: *vahanti yam kuṇḍalaśobhitānanā mahāśanā yomacharā niśācharāḥ, Rāmāyaṇa* 5,8,7; the *Mahābhārata* has an equally interesting picture of terrible huge-bodied, immensely powerful demons known as Kiṅkaras moving in the sky and supporting the mansion as they guard it on the orders of Maya: *tām sma tatra mayenoktā rakshanti cha vahanti cha sabhām ashṭau sahasrāṇi kiṅkarā nāma rākshasāḥ antarikshacharā ghorā mahākāyā mahābalāḥ, Mahābhārata* 2,3,28. In this context we have to understand other caryatid figures occurring in monuments and described in litcrature. *Diggjas* or elephants facing the quarters and sub-quarters, in eight or even sixteen directions, are represented in early *dagobas* in Anurādhāpura in Ceylon of the 1st century B.C. and even up to the 3rd century A.D. The motif so appealed that at Mahābalipuram the Arjunaratha has similar elephant caryatids to support its plinth. We know from history and particularly through inscriptions and the style of architecture that the Kailāsa temple at Kāñchīpuram inspired Vikramāditya to build his temples in the Southern style at Paṭṭaḍakal through Southern architects and sculptors. The Kailasā temple at Ellora in its turn was inspired by these. Thus we have a whole row of elephants facing all the four directions and supporting the plinth of the colossal monument (Fig. 134). They are exquisitely carved. To understand this idea of the temple being carried by elephants we have only to turn to the literary description of temples and palaces, *prāsādas*, compared to mountains like Mandara, Meru and Kailāsa and even distinguished as types with such appellations as Meru and Kailāsa: *tenedam kāritam śambhor bhavanam bhūtaye bhuvaḥ kailāsamandaranibham bhūbhṛitām mūrdhni tishṭhatā*, *Epigraphia Indica* 10,12, and *śaile kailāsalīlāmanubhavati gṛihe rājasiṁheśvarākhyām bibhratyabhramlihāgre virachayatu sadā sannidhānam vṛishāṅkaḥ*, *South Indian Inscriptions* 1,13.

This description is of the Rājasiṁheśvara temple in Kāñchīpuram built by Rājasiṁha (Fig. 135). Its present name Kailāsanātha is based on this comparison.

In describing the famous temple of Śiva, Kailāṣa at Ellora, inscriptions mention that it was intended to resemble mount Kailāsa: *tasmād apālayat imām vasudhām pitrivyaḥ śrīkṛishṇarāja nṛipatis śaradabhraśubhraiḥ yatkāriteśvaragṛihair vasumatyanekakailāsaśailanichiteva chiram vibhāti*, *Epigraphia Ind.* 4, 282. In the earlier texts like the *Rāmāyaṇa* this was the norm of comparison. The *prāsādas* palaces and temples of Laṅka, are compared to the Meru and Mandara mountains: *merumandarasaṁkāśaiḥ ālikhadbhir ivāmbaram*, *Rāmāyaṇa* 5, 1.

The *diggjaas* supporting such mighty edificies are also a thought borrowed from literature. The entire expanse of the earth is supported by the elephants of the quarters and in praising a king the panegerist proclaims him as singly holding aloft the entire earth to relax them of this burden. A poet fancies that the primal tortoise, that supports the earth, being relieved of his burden, sportively engages himself in something, as also the elephants of the quarters that gather together in playfully enjoying mouthfuls of tender shoots of *lavalī* creepers in the sands and drink the water of the ocean: *urvīm maurvīkiṇabhṛiti bhavaddoshṇi bibhratyaśesham śāntaklāntiḥ kimapai kurute narmaṇā* *karma kūrmaḥ kṛitvā līlāpulinalavalīpallavagrāsagoshṭhīm diṅmātaṅgās samam atha sarinnābhapāthaḥ pibanti*, *Subhāshitāvalī* 2608.

There is also an example of a verse given, quoted by Mammaṭa, describing how celestial nymphs on the crest of Mount Kailāsa sing the glory of the king who supports easily on his shoulders the earth, and relieved, the elephants of the quarters plant their trunks on their dune-wide ears fancying there juicy lotus roots, as the fame of the king had turned white and helped to create this illusion: *kailāsasya prathamaśikhare veṇusammūrchchhanābhis śrutvā kīrtim vibudharamaṇīgīyamānam yadīyām trastāpāṅgas sarasabisinīkroḍasañjātaśaṅkā diṅmātaṅgās śravaṇapuline hastam āvartayanti*, *Kāvyaprakāśa*, 4, 64.

Describing the pillars supporting the palace, the *Rāmāyaṇa* mentions a decorative theme, the *īhāmṛiga*, executed extremely well, golden and rediant : *thāmṛigasamāyuktaiḥ kārtasvarahiraṇmayaiḥ sukṛitair āchitam stambhaiḥ pradīptam iva cha śriyā*, *Rāmāyaṇa* 5, 9, 13. The ordinary meaning of the word *īhāmṛiga*, a kind of antelope, leads us nowhere, as none of the *īhāmṛigas* depicted in sculpture are antelopes. The word is used in a spicial sense and is a compound of two words. It may be *īhānusārī mṛigaḥ* or *īhām anuṛistya kṛito mṛigaḥ*. Either way it is an animal carved according to the fancy of the sculptor. Animals of the kind abound in early sculpture, though in later sculptures they came to be restricted to the stereotyped *vyāla* and *makara*. In Bhārhut, Sāñchī, Bodhgayā, Mathurā, Amarāvatī, Jaggayyapeṭa and a host of other places the sculptures show these quaint animals, products of a luscious and verdant sculptural fancy (Fig. 136). Most of these are aquatic monsters with their place low down at the base as it should be, and the winged creatures go at the top and crown the pillar, their pinions skyward. The aquatic monsters are the result of a blend of body parts of terrestrial and aquatic animals. Horses, elephants and bulls, half equine, elephantine and bovine respectively, but every one of them with the hind quarters of the body shaped after the fish with lovely scales, fins and tail are delightful animals of fancy. Wings shooting from the roof of the forelegs of elephants, lions and the like make the aerial monsters that crouch on the pillar capitals. The griffin, a monster with aquiline beak and leonine body, is one more of these animals of imagination. The aquatic monsters are generally shown under the feet of human figures carved on the shaft of the pillars. Kālidāsa describes the half elephantine half piscine monster *mātaṅganakra* jumping up over the waters of the ocean cutting in twain the foam: *mātaṅganakrais sahasotpatadbhir bhinnān dvīdhā paśya samudraphenān, Raghuvaṁśa* 13, 11. In the *Mahābhārata* they are termed *gajavaktrajhashas* fish with elephantine head, and the equine fish are the *vājimīnas*.

On the shafts of pillars and pilasters these are invariably human figures, generally nymphs and damsels in various attitudes of toilet make up and decoration (Fig. 137), in a playful mood or in *dohada* of different varieties of flowering trees to make them flower even out of season. Some of the finest are the yakshīs from Bhūteśar near Mathurā. Vālmīki describes lovely damsels adorning the Pushpaka palace, *nārīpravekair iva dīpyamānam, Rāmāyaṇa* 5,7,7. He uses the word *nārīpraveka*, the loveliest of women, aptly.Their position on the pillars is given by Kālidāsa in describing the sad state of the neglected mansions of Ayodhyā, where the slough of the snake, by its contact with the breasts of carved damsels on the pillars, dusky with the colour paint broken and faded, appears, almost a covering for them: *stambheshu yoshitpratiyātanāṇām utkrāntavarṇakramadhūsarāṇām stanottarīyāṇi bhavanti sangānnirmokapaṭṭāḥ phaṇbhir vimuktāḥ, Raghuvaṁśa* 16, 17.

There is a pattern of a row of geese in the earliest monuments, a frieze showing the birds walking up leisurely with lotus stalks in their beaks, *bisakisalayachchhedapātheyavantaḥ, Meghadūta* 1,11,‘or flying along as if carrying aloft in ease a whole monument (Fig. 138). A similar pattern is described by Vālmīki when he pictures the Pushpaka palace appearing borne as it were by excellent geese: *hamsapravekair iva vāhyamānam, Rāmāyana* 5,7,7. A similar situation for the geese carrying an aerial palanquin is described elsewhere also *śibikām aṅtārikshagām yuktām haṁsasahasreṇa svayam āsthāya rāghavaḥ, Rāmāyaṇa* 5, 27, 10.

Vālmīki being rich in his imagery describes these birds as with curved wings drooped sportively, with auspicious beaks and wings decorated with flowers of coral and gold and appearing the very wings of Cupid: *pravālajāmbūnadapushpapakshās salīlam āvarjitajihmapakshāḥ kāmasya sākshād iva bhānti pakshāḥ kṛitā vihaṅgās sumukhās supakshāḥ,* *Rāmāyana* 5,7,13. The carved frieze of geese at Amarāvatī and other ancient monuments, with fluttering wings and with lotuses and garlands in their beaks answer Vālmīki's description admirably. Lotuses and garlands are auspicious and their beaks by their association are also auspicious and the coral and gold decoration should have been emulated by the sculptures when they were painted and appeared in the hey day of their beauty.

Another architectural feature is the *vedikā* (Fig. 140) and *jālavātāyana* (Fig. 139), rail or balustrade and lattice or pierced screen windows. The variety of both, especially the latter, is quite a study in itself and the patterns as they occur in both early and medieval monuments are most pleasing. Most early cave temples in Western India, as for instance that at Kondane, provide excellent examples of *jālavātayanas*. Kālidāsa makes Sunandā fancy the princess wedded to Pratīpa and peeping through the lattice work of the large windows of her palace in Māhishmatī to gaze at the lovely tremulous stream of the river Narmadā: *prāsādajālair jalaveṇiramyām revām yadi prekshitum asti kāmaḥ*, *Raghuvamśa* 6,43. Vālmīki would have them of gold and crystal: *jālavātayanair yuktām kāñchanais sphāṭikair api*, *Rāmāyaṇa* 5,9,16.

The *vedikā* is a rail surrounding a building or present above a structure as a balustrade and also similarly in the case of flights of steps. In this sense it is used very often in early literature (see *Vedikā* in Commaraswamy's Indian Architectural Terms *J.A.O.S.* 48, p. 273). The *Vedikā* is composed of plinth, uprights, crossbars and coping. Their grandeur and gem-decked beauty is evident in the line *indranīlamahānīlamaṇipravaravedikam*, *Rāmāyaṇa* 5, 9, 16.

A fragment of sculpture from Amarāvatī of the earliest period, 2nd century B.C., now in the Madras Museum, shows a multi-storied monastery (Fig. 141). Excavations cannot give an idea of the number of the stories of a building. It is here that literary references help. We know from these that large mansions were provided with several *bhūmikās* or stories in ancient India. The sculpture itself is an ample proof of such construction. We have only to turn to the *Rāmāyaṇa* to know all about multi-storeyed mansions and palaces : *saptabhaumāshṭabhaumaiścha sa dadarśa mahāpurīm talais sphāṭikasaṅkirnaiḥ* *kārtasvaravibhūshitaiḥ, Rāmāyaṇa* 5,3,51.

Another important sculpture shows how a site is chosen for construction, acquired sometimes with great difficulty even at an impossible price, and construction put up, involving a labour that was entirely merited by the most famous monastery of its day during Buddha's lifetime. This is a famous scene from Bhārhut, illustrating the price paid by Anāthapiṇḍada, the merchant prince devotee of Buddha, who spread gold coins on the entire surface of Jetavana that he purchased from Jeta, built the *vihāra* including the Gandhakuṭī for Buddha, which is indicated and labelled in the sculpture, and presented it to the master by pouring water in his hands. The literary description of the presentation of the Jetavana is well known in Buddhist literature. It is with this that the sculpture itself is to be understood. The brief but suggestive label clearly indicates what a high price was paid and how fervently the gift was made to Buddha by Anāthapiṇḍada : *jetavana anāthapeṇḍiko deti koṭisamthatena keto. Cullavagga* (p. 159) elaborately describes this : *anāthapindiko gahapati sakatehi hiraññaṁ nibbāpahetum jetavanaṁ koṭisamthāraṁ santharāpesi.*

The Ajaṇṭā caves form a series noted not only for their famous paintings but also for the architectural ahievement that their creation meant. Except for the earliest caves of the second century B.C., caves 9 and 10, those of the later period are particularly interesting because of the Vākāṭaka inscription in cave 16 which mentions its dedication to the monks by Varāhadeva, the minister of the Vākāṭaka king Harisheṇa in the later half of the 5th century A.D. Cave 26 has also an inscription which mentions the gift of the temple of Sugata by a monk Buddhabhadra, a friend of Bhavirāja, a minister of the king of Aśmaka. Another inscription from cave 20 records the gift of the hall by Upendra and is also of the same date. It is clear from these inscriptions in the early box-headed type of letters that they are all of the Vākāṭaka period. The phase of art represented in these caves is that of the Vākāṭakas.

The inscription in cave 16 describes it as adorned by windows, doors, beautiful picture galleries (*vīthīs*), carvings of celestial nymphs, ornamental pillars and shrines (*chaityamandira*) and a large reservoir; *gavākshaniryūhasuvīthi, vedikāsurendrakanyāpratimādyalaṅkṛitam, mano-*

harastambhavibhaṅga...............rachaityamandiram, ma. . . . . . .talasannivishṭam visa. . . . . .namanobhirāmaṃ, va. . . . . .nchambumahānidhānam nāgendraveśmādibhir apyalaṁkṛitam.

Cave 17, excavated by a feudatory of the Vākāṭaka king Harisheṇa as given in an inscription, has an elaborately carved doorway with handsome Gaṅgā and Yamunā figures. The description in the inscription is so faithful, that we are able to picture these caves, particularly cave 16, with all the parts composing this beautiful picture gallery described as *vīthī*, the word gallery itself conveyed through this word. For understanding the Gaṅgā and Yamunā motif we have only to turn to Kālidāsa where he describes the rivers in anthropomorphic form and flanking the central deity as on either side of the doorway in Gupta and Vākaṭaka temples : *mūrte cha gaṅgāyamune tadānīm sachāmare devam asevishātām, Kumārasambhava*, 7, 42.

Let us examine this in detail with parallel descriptions from literature. As Bhavabhūti gives it, Lakshmaṇa informs Rāma that according to his instructions the painter Arjuna has given his life story in paintings all along the gallery. The word for gallery is *vīthī*: *ārya arjunena chitrakareṇāsmadupadishṭam āryasya charitam asyām vīthyām abhilikhitam, tat paśyatvāryaḥ, Uttararāmacharita* 1. The windows are for proper ventilation. Rāma asks Sītā who is fatigued to rest for a while near the windows of the *chitraśālā* : *priye vātāyanopakaṇṭhe samvishṭā bhava, Uttararāmacharita* 1. The pillars provided for the Chitraśālā form its architectural feature mentioned by Soḍḍhala: *urustambhavatīm chitraśālikām iva ratinivāsāya kalpitām, Udayasundarīkathā* p. 133. From the *Ratnāvalī* we gather that the *toraṇa* or the ornamental doorway and the *valabhī*, the topmost part of the building, are all worked and decorated with ivory : *katham atraisha khalu bhartāsvasthatāmisheṇa madanāvasthām prachchhādayan dantatoraṇavalabhyā uparyupavishṭas tishṭhati, Ratnāvalī* 3. In the long description of the *chitraśālā* in the *Nāradaśilpa* there is detailed description of *dvāra, upadvāra, aṅgaṇa, śālā, vedikā, praveśanakasopāna*, doorway, side entrance, court, hall, platform, steps leading up to the entrance (*Triveni* p. 169f).

The Virūpāksha temple at Paṭṭaḍakal (Fig. 142) has an inscription on the east gateway of the courtyard, a real literary record, a boon to understand the significance of the temple itself. It mentions that the Virūpāksha temple was contructed by the *sūtradhāri* Gunda, at the instance of Lokamamahādevī, the queen of Vikramāditya II to commemorate his victory at Kāñchī three times over. Built practically on the same plan as the Viaūpāksha temple and similar in design is the Mallikārjuna or Trailokyeśvara temple in its vicinity built by the junior queen of Vikramāditya, Trailokyamahādevī. On the east face of the Pāpanātha temple an inscription mentions a sculptor Chattara-Revadi-Ovajja who is described as one who made the southern country i.e. built the temples of the southern country. He belongto the guild of Sarvasiddhiāchāryas, the same as that of the architect of the Virūpāksha temple. One of the two inscriptions from the eastern gateway of the Virūpāksha temple mentions the builder as the most eminent *sūtradhārī* of the southern country.

Almost a commentary on all this is gathered from what we get in two other Chāḷukyan copper plate grants. From the Vakkaleri grant of Kīrtivarman II, son of Vikramāditya, we learn that the latter made gifts to the Rājasiṁheśvara temple at Kāñchi and was so impressed with the images,carvings and sculptural decoration which greeted his eyes that he had them overlaid with gold. At Kāñchīpuram itself in the Rājasiṁheśvara temple there is actually an inscription of Vikramāditya II on a pillar of the front *maṇḍapa* recording that Vikramāditya Satyāśraya did not touch the property of the temple after his conquest of Kāñchī but instead granted large treasures for the deity. The other inscription is the Kendur plates mentioning how Chāḷukya Vikramāditya II on his success in invading Kāñchi entered without destroying the city of Kāñchī which was as it were a girdle adorning yonder lady, the region of the south . . . . . rejoiced the Brāhmaṇas, and poor helpless people by his uninterrupted, liberality acquired high merit by restoring gold to the temple of Rājasiṁheśvara and other gods which have been caused to be built by Narasiṁhapotavarman. All this clearly leads us to the supposition that being struck by the beauty of the Pallava temples at Kāñchī, Vikramāditya induced some of the best architects of the Pallava realm to come to his kingdom. The sculptural and architectural features of the temples of his period at Paṭṭaḍakal as also the two inscriptions in the Virūpāksha temple mentioning the builder as the master, 'the most eminent *sūtradhāri* of the southern country' cleary proves this fascinating story that is to be reconstructed with the help of these literary references.

Again those who have seen the Kailāsa temple at Ellora (Fig. 143) and the Śiva temple at Kaḷugumalai in the heart of the Pāṇḍyan territory, which is just a simpler and tinier edition of the Kailāsa at Ellora, both showing ample influence of Pallava art traditions, would naturally have their own story to tell in regard to the source of inspiration for both The verse of the Bagumra plates which shows the manner in which Dantidurga approached Kāñchī, his attitude towards Nandivarman on whom he bestowed his daughter, together with the expression in the Telegaon plates *kāñchīguṇālaṁkṛitaviśvaṁbharā nijavaniteva tena bhuktā* how Kṛishṇa I enjoyed the earth damsel adorned by the beautiful excellences of Kāñchī (strings of girdle) as if she were his own lady, makes it clear that the Rāshṭrakūṭas like the Chāḷukyas were deeply impressed by the superior art and architecture of the Pallavas as they saw at Kāñchī specially in the Rājasiṁheśvara temple which itself had been the inspiration for the Virūpāksha and Trailokyeśvara temples at Paṭṭaḍakal of the time of Vikramāditya II. The master architects who made these temples could have been hailed by those who excavated the great Kailāsa monument. This remarkable resemblance in details existing between the Kailāsa temple at Elora and at Kāñchī led Professor Jouveau Dubreuil to look for and discover paintings in the latter when he found that they existed in the former, and we know only too well how richly his search was rewarded. The beauty of the monument of Kailāsa has again been graphically described in poetic eloquence in the Baroda grant of Karkasuvarṇavarsha "seeing this wonderful temple on the mountain of Elāpura, the astonished immortals travelling in celestial cars always take much thought saying "This is surely the abode of Svayambhū Śiva and not an artificially made (building). Has ever such beauty been seen?" Verily even the architect who built it felt astonished, saying "The utmost perseverence would fail to accomplish such a work again; ah! how has it been achieved by me?" and, by reason of it, the king was caused to praise his name.' *elāpurāchalagatādbhutasanniveśam yad vīkshya vismitavimānacharāmarendrāḥ etat svayambhuśivadhāma na kṛitrimam śrīr dṛishṭedṛiśīti satatam bahu charchayanti bhūyas tathāvidhakṛitau vyavasayahanir etan maya katham aho kṛitam ityakasmāt kartāpi yasya khalu vismayam āpa śilpī tannāmakīrtanam akāryata yena rājña* (*Indian Antiquary* 12, p. 159). When this great temple of such wonderous beauty has taken as its basis the Lokeśvara temple it is no wondr that the architect *sūtradhārī* Śrī Sarvasiddhi āchāry is praised in the inscription in that temple as "the asylum of all virtuous qualities; the creator of many cities and houses; he whose conversation is entirely perfect and refined; he who has for a jewelled diadem and crest jewel the houses and palaces and vehicles and seats and couches that he constructed; the most eminent *sūtradhārī* of the southern country" *Indian Antiquary* 10, p. 165.

Among the earliest early Western Chāḷukyan temples is cave 4, the Vaishṇava cave as it is called, at Bādāmī, the largest and most imposing of its category (Fig. 144). It was excavted by Maṅgaḷeśa and the principal carvings here are monumental in character, Trivikrama, Narasiṁha, Virāṭ, Bhogāsanāsīna and Varāha. The last one the Varāha, being also the *lāñchhana* (emblem) of the Chāḷukyas, has been shown to special advantage, as it also suggests how the king had reason to take pride in the shouldering of the responsibilities of the vest realm on earth under his sway, like, the Varāha, who raised the almost submerged Pṛithvī.

In an inscription, dated Śaka 500, i.e. 578-579 A.D., in the twelfth year of his reign, the consecration of this cave temple is elaborately described as well as the installation of the image of Vishṇu in it. The inscription near the Varāha panel is full of information and suggests that visitors should look around at the ceiling and walls, and comprehend the wonderful decoration of the cave by craftsmen of Maṅgaḷeśa.

It clearly states that the cave is dedicated to Vishṇu, mentioning Maṅgaḷeśa as a *bhāgavata*. It describes the cave temple—and this is most important to note—as 'exceeding the height of two men and of wonderful workmanship, extensive in its major and minor parts, ceiling and sides all extremely beautiful to behold': *paramabhāgavato layana mahāvishṇugṛiham atidvaimānushyakam atyadbhutakarma virachitam bhūmibhāgopabhāgopariparyantātiśayadarśanīyatamam kṛitvā*, *Indian Antiquary* 6, p. 363; 10, p. 58.

In India every part of a building was painted in such a way as to arrest the attention of appreciative connoisseurs of art. Fragments of paintings in the upper cells of the Dharmarāja *ratha* at Mahābalipuram and in other Pallava cave temples, like the Kailāsanātha at Kāñchīpuram, are all that remain of fully painted shrines. Bādāmī also had this decorative treatment. This decoration, described in the inscription at Bādāmī, leaves no doubt that the painters of Maṅgaḷeśa's court were carrying on the tradition of the earlier Vākāṭakas, whose caves were painted. A *prāsāda* without the embellishment of paintings is not possible. Śrī Harsha's and Bāṇa's descriptions are illuminating even regarding the themes depicted: *bhittichitralikhitākhilakramā yatra tasthur itihāsasaṁkathāh padmanandanasutāriramsutāmandasāhasahasanmanobhuvah, pushpakāṇḍajayaḍiṇḍimāyitam yatra gautamakalatrakāminaḥ pāradārikavilāsasāhasam devabhartur udaṭaṅki bhittishu, nītam eva karalabhyapāratām apratīrya munayas taporṇavam apsaraḥkuchaghaṭāvalambanāt sthāyinā kvacha na yatra chitritāḥ. Naishadhīyacharita* 18,20,21,26: and *surāsurasiddhagandharvavidyādharoragādhyāsitābhis chitraśālābhir aviratotsavapramadāvalokanakutūhalād ambaratalād avatīrṇābhir divyavimānapaṅktibhir ivālaṁkṛitā, Kādambarī* p.9.

An inscription is Grantha letters of the beginning of the seventh century on the facade of a rock-cut shrine in Maṇḍagapaṭṭu in South Arcot district (Fig. 145) gives us the joyous utterance of an inventive-minded king who styles himself *vichitrachitta*, 'curious-minded' for having introduced for the first time as permanent mode of establishing temples unlike earlier ones in perishable material like bricks, timber, metal and lime mortar: *etad anishṭakam adrumam aloham asv' dham vichitrachittena nirmāpitam nṛipeṇa brahmeśvaravishṇulakshitāyatanam, Epigraph. Ind.* 17 p. 17.

The temple is a simple one having large *dvārapālas* at either end of the main hall with its heavy cubical pillars characteristic of Mahendravarman's style of architecture and provided with a shrine at the rear with three niches for Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva as the inscription mentions it. For the first time in that part of the country this new innovation of excavating a temple on the scarp of a large boulder or rock was experimented by Mahendravarman. The success of this enterprize explains the glee of the art-minded monarch.

Mahendravarman was the daughter's son of the Vishṇukuṇḍin king Vikramahendra and was acquainted with the cave temple type already present at Mogalrajapuram near Bezwāḍa in the territory of his mother. No doubt this made such an impression on his juvenile mind that later as a king he created a triple shrine for the trinity on this earlier model. The inscription is no doubt revealing, but it is even more so from an account that we have of Mahendravarman in the burlesque *Mattavilāsa* composed by him and justifying his title *Mattavilāsa* found engraved in more than one cave of his along with other titles of his.

The Rājarājeśvara temple at Tañjāvūr (Fig. 146) and the Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholīśvara temple at Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram are huge edifices that came up very much later than the Rājasiṁheśvara at Kāñchīpuram which, though comparatively much smaller, provides a pattern for later structures. Here the *gopura* entrance was inconspicuous, the main pyramidal shrine standing out as the main structure. This was so conceived as to resemble a hill, the traditional example for emulation being the Kailāsa. Already in the *Meghadūta* Kālidāsa has sung of the glory of mansions that lick the clouds as it were *tuṅgam abhramlihāgrāḥ prāsādāḥ*, *Meghadūta* 2,1, and painted milkwhite, āppearing like the laughter of Śiva heaped up. It may be recalled that poets fancy laughter as white which accounts for this strange simile.

When Rājasiṁha built the Rājasiṁheśvara, completely embellished with lovely carving and significant lines of inscription in an extremely beautiful florid script, he did not stint in art or outlay and it was equal to his eminance as his inscription tells us. He was also aided in this by his art-minded queen who had a name as charming as her connoisseurship, Raṅgapatākā : *nirmāpitam idam dhāma tayā chandraśikhāmaṇeḥ patākayeva nārīṇām ramyam raṅgapatākayā, S. Ind. Inscr.* 1, p. 23. He also describes it as a shrine all of stone sporting the grandeur of Mount Kailāsa itself and licking the clouds: *yaśassadṛiśam ātmano bhavanam etad atyadbhutam harasya harahāsarūpam atimānam atyadbhutam...... śaile kailāsalīlām anubhavati gṛihe rājasiṁheśvarākhyām bibhratyabhramlihāgre virachayatu sadā sannidhānam vṛishāṅkaḥ, South Ind. Inscr.* 1. p. 13. We have to remember that this is a stage soon after the rock-cut shrines and so comparatively this is taller and more imposing. But it should not be judged by still later shrines that arose several centuries later but which also had diminutive towers compared to their monumental towering central shrines but definitely larger than the tiny ones of the Pallava period. Still later the *gopuras* reared their head to such dizzy heights that the central shrines got dwarfed. Yet these Pallava shrines at the time of their construction were so very imposing in the eyes of a people unaccustomed to anything larger, that the epithet *abhramliha* was quite justified. In fact it is this temple that inspired successive Kailāsa temples at Paṭṭaḍakal and Ellora.

At Uttiramerur there is a temple of the 8th-9th century A.D. built by the Pallava king Dantivarman with a fine *vimāna* known as *ashṭāṅga vimāna* containing some very beautiful and rather unusual iconographic forms as large decorative panels. There is a Sarasvatī that would be normally taken to be Gajalakshmī, as she is bathed by elephants (Fig. 147). While it is a bath of fortune and prosperity for Śrī, it is a bath of wisdom by elephants symbolic of wisdom also. Another is Bhṛigu the great sage who is among the greatest devotees of Vishṇu. In fact Bhṛigu is named first among the sages receiving the blessing of Vishṇu as he rises from his snake couch as they stand before him to greet him and enquire if he had a good sleep: *bhṛigvādīn anugṛihṇamtam saukhaśāyanikān ṛishīn*, *Raghuvamśa* 10, 14.

An inscription here is of special interest as pointed out by Ganapati sthapati as it helps us to understand the full import of the construction of this temple by the learned and skilful *takshā* or architect Parameśvara of the village Pātaka with the aid of those in the village learned in the text of the *Āgamas* and its practice. He calls it a veritable sun among shrines, greatly valued as a model of its name and class, and concludes that one who understands its dimensions and architectural details is indeed well versed in *Vāstu vidyā*: *evam vāstvabhavān mahat pravigatam nāmnā cha jātyādinā yenāsmin bahubhir yathāgamavidair grāme prayogānvitaiḥ śrīmatpātakavāsinā kṛitadhiyā takshṇā sadā vāgminā tenedam parameśvareṇa mahatā śrīvāstuno bhāskaraḥ asyālaṅkāramānam cha yathalakshaṇasamyutam yaschainam vetti sakalam sa vai vāstuvidām varaḥ*, *Seminar on Inscriptions* 1966, Madras, 1968.

Since it is of mixed material, stone at the lower level upto *adhishṭhāna* and brick and plaster and wooden structure higher up, it is *saṅkīrṇajāti.* It is three-storied, has all the six elements of *shaḍaṅga* or *shaḍvarga, adhishṭhāna, padavarga, prastara, grivā, śikhara* and *stūpikā* to which by the addition of two more *aṅgas, pada* and *prastara*, it is an *ashṭāṅga vimāna.* Since a *shaḍvarga* with the addition of two more *aṅgas* would normally be a two-storied *vimāna* and this is three-storied, the *garbhagṛiha* of the first floor which is a repetition of the one on the ground floor is taken along with it as one unit.

The three *garbhagṛihas*, one over the other, show Vishṇu standing *sthānaka mūrti* seated *āsana* and reclining *śayana.* The *koshṭhas* or outer niches against the *garbhagṛihas* have Satya, Achyuta and Aṇiruddha on one floor and Naranārāyaṇa, Narasiṁha and Varāha on another to the south, west and north respectively. Thus it has the *navamūrtis.*

The text of *Marīchi Saṁhitā* which details the design of the *Vimāna* is fully answered in this well-designed and executed temple at Uttaramerūr. As it so well tallies with this, it appears to be the text followed by the architect Parameśvara. The inscription is thus a boon to understand the temple, its architect and the text on which it is based.

The magnificent temple on Mt. Abu by Tejaḥpāla on the orders of Vastupāla is a gem of late medieval architecture (Fig. 148) from Rājasthān and the intricate carving in marble has evoked the praise of connoisseurs. The manner in which it was built as recorded in the *Vastupālaprabandha* is indeed revealing. We have here to bring to our mind a tendency among craftsmen to prolong the duration of their work by their habit of delay. Kshemendra laughs at the habit of the artists and craftsmen of his day who wantonly put off their work calling them *Kālachauras* or thieves of time : *pratyahavetanayuktāḥ karmasu ye kāruśilpino dhūrtāḥ vilasanti kāryavighnair vijñeyā kālachaurās te, kalāvilāsa* 10, 25. By the time of Kshemendra the sculptors, painters and other craftsmen had deteriorated in conscience though not in skill, the system of most of them receiving daily wages contributing to this freakishness in the execution of their work. From the *Vastupālaprabandha* it is seen that the tendency of the workmen was the same. The literary account is very graphic. Śobhanadeva, the chief architect and sculptor chosen for the work was the expert in his line. Ūdala, his own brother-in-law, was entrusted with the purse and expenditure was not stinted. On the other hand when Ūdala sent word to Tejaḥpāla who had returned after a visit to Dhavalakkaka (Dholka), to inform him that the craftsmen wasted time, asked for money in advance, spent it as soon as they received it and asked for more when the actual work was begun, the noble minister Tejaḥpāla wrote back with instructions not to stint in paying the craftsmen but rather to give them all that they asked. When the work was nearing completion Tejaḥpāla arrived at Mt. Abu with his wife Anupamā who evinced a deep interest in the work. She asked Śobhanadeva the reason for the delaying of erecting some pillars that they were trying to, but could not in spite of the long time taken for the task as she had herself watched all the while. Śobhanadeva detailed the causes of the delay like the chilly mountain breeze in the mornings, the long distance to be traversed at noon for their bath and food, a return trudge and so forth. The generous woman at once advised her husband, eager for the early completion of the temple, to employ night-workmen as well as the workmen by day and to arrange to help them rest a while by providing food and ameneties just where they worked. The result of this munificence is quite clear in the completion to satisfaction of a great monument, the ceiling alone of which is enough to make one gaze in admiration for the intricāte work, not to talk of the rest of the architectural parts and their details: *evam siddhe karmaṇi śobhanadevam sūtradhāram āhūya karmasthāne nyayuṅkta. ūdalākhyam śyālam uparisthāyinam akarot. arthavyaye svairitām samādiśat. evam sūtram kṛitvā tejaḥpālo dhavalakkakam agāt. nishpadyate prāsādaḥ. śrīnemibiṁbam kashopalamayam ghaṭyate. sūtradharāṇām saptaśatī ghaṭayati ghāṭam. te tu duśśīlāḥ puraḥ puro'rtham gṛiḥṇamti kāryakāle punar yāchante* etc. vide *Vasantavilāsamahākāvya*, Gaekwad ed. Appendix i, p. 104.

It is interesting that in this same text there is a critical estimate of the merits and defects of this renowned temple, which is a model of the excellence of thirteenth century style of architecture in Guzerat, in the words of Yaśovīra, a minister of Udayasiṁha, who answers the queries of Vastupāla in these words: *śrīvastupālenaikadā chaityasya dūshaṇabhūshaṇe pṛishṭo yaśovīraḥ proche—deva* ! *śobhanadevas sūtradhāras śobhanaḥ tato yuktam etadambā kīrtistambhopari sthitā ekām aṅgulim ūrdhvīkṛitya sthitā ghaṭitā. paramaḥ prāsādaḥ. param doshā* *api santi. prāsādāpekshayā sopānāni hrasvāni. stambhe bimbāni aśātanābhājanam syuḥ. dvārapraveśe vyāghrarūpāṇi pūjālpatvāya syuḥ.*

And it is again interesting that Vastupāla instead of getting flurried, only philosophised taking all these merits and defects as inevitable, however capable the craftsman: *ityādi śrutvā satyam matvā na chukopa, bhavitavyatām chāpratikārām niśchikye.*

CHAPTER FIVE

PAINTING

Paintings are the most pleasing of historical sources, combining in themselves as they do bright colour and form, in addition to aesthetic quality, along with import, in a manner that attract attention to themselves more than any other art expression. These, however, are the least suited to resist the ravages of time and weathering and have perished in such profusion that it is only the fragments of remnants that, even so, gladden our eyes.

Painting has had a very hoary antiquity in India and an inscription of the second century B.C. from the Jogimāra cave in the Rāmgarh hill reads *sutanuka nama devadasikyi tam kamayita balanaseye devadine nama lupadakhe* mentioning a Devadāsī named Sutanukā, whom Devadinna, excellent among young men and skilled in art form, hailing from Vārāṇasī, loved. The word *lupadakha* clever in creating form primarily applies to a sculptor but could easily be used for a painter also as he had also to conceive and express beauty of form in addition to its colour. Sculpture and painting were so interconnected that there could be none a success in either without a mastery of both.

There are frequent references to paintings as portable rolls being brought and unfurled in royal courts. In the early Sanskrit play *Dūtavākya*, a painting of Draupadī's unrobing, *vastraharaṇa*, is displayed. Patanjali refers to *Kaṁsakarshaṇyaḥ*, the pulling of Kamsa by his hair before he is killed by Kṛishṇa. These themes have been repeated over and over again during the centuries and a Kāngrā painting of this theme from the *Bhāgavata* is a masterpiece. Excellent delineation was achieved with the minimum of drawing *api laghu likhiteyam dṛiśyate pūrṇamūrtīḥ* as remarked by the Vidūshaka in the

Vidhasālabhañjikā. This is the praise of powerful line drawing, a preliminary to charming colour work. Excessive decoration and loud colouring were considered a blemish in the enumeration of *chitraguṇas* and *chitradoshas* i.e. merits and defects in paintings.

The classification of paintings as *viddhachitras* and *aviddhachitras* i.e. portraits and studies from life in general, shows that special care was taken to produce faithful portraits. We have several instances of portraits, like the famous painting from Qyzyl, Chinese Turkestan, depicting the gentle mode of breaking the news of the Master's passing away to Ajātaśatru with the aid of a *chitrapaṭa* or painted scroll, with several scenes from the Master's life including his *parinirvāṇa* which shows how early such paintings were used (Fig. 149). It is a portrait that constitutes the theme of the *Viddhasālabhañjikā.* In the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, a pathetic verse depicting the pet parrot in the deserted household of a fallen king, begging of painted figures of the princess and her attendants on the walls to give him food, mistaking the pictures for the living persons, suggest the ability of the ancient Indian painter at portrait work.

The trained artist with *hastochchaya*, skilled hand in preparing pictures, was a great one in his field. In contrast to the *chitrāchāryas*, known for their *hastochchaya*, were the *ḍiṇḍins*, inferior artists of mediocre taste, usually employed to repair old pictures, carvings and flags, who very nearly ruined them. It is no wonder that they were considered not very different from monkeys, *ḍiṇḍino hi namaite nātiviprakṛishṭā vānarebhyaḥ*, *Pādatāḍitaka* p. 21.

In the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* is described a painter at work, surrounded by a large number of colour pans (Fig. 150), from each of which he would just take a little to put on the canvas: *yo nāmāham tatrabhavatas chārudattasya ṛiddhyāhorātram prayatnasiddhair uddāmasurabhigandhibhir modakair eva aśitābhyantarachatuśśālakadvāra upavishṭo mallakaśataparivṛtās chitrakara ivāṅgulībhis spṛishṭvā spṛishṭvāpanayāmi* (*Mṛichchhakaṭika*). The artist was fully conscious of a good picture when he achieved it, and, even while painting, would nod his head in joyous approbation. This special trait of the painter has been noted by Vālmīki, Śrī Harsha, Kshemendra, Harshavardhana and others: *yayau vilolayan maulim rūpātiśayavismitaḥ*, *Bṛihatkathā-*

mañjarī 9, 1121; *vīkshya yam bahu dhuvan śiro jarāvātakī vidhir akalpi śilparāṭ, Naishadhīyacharita* 18, 12; *śirāmsi chalitāni vismayavaśād dhruvam vedhaso vidhāya lalanām jagattrayalalāmabhūtām imām, Ratnāvalī* 2, 41.

While the experimental or preliminary sketches were known as *hastalekhas*, the word *varṇaka* denoted a final *hastalekha*, comparable to the 'determinant sketch' mentioned by Ruskin, and in this connotation often occurs in literature. The final process of making the pictures live is the *chitronmīlana*, infusing of life into it. It is interesting that there is a maxim based on this, *chitronmīlananyāya*. The beauty of Pārvatī is compared by Kālidāsa to a picture infused with life by the process of *unmīlana*: *unmīlitam tūlikayeva chitram, Kumārasambhava* 1, 32. The process is even now a living tradition amongst the hereditary craftsmen in India and Ceylon. A common belief mentioned in the *Viddhasālabhañjikā* is that a picture generally reflects the merits of the artist, even as the literary work reveals the poet in its excellence: *evam etat, yato garishṭhagoshṭhīshvapyevam kila śrūyate yādriśas chitrakaras tādṛiśī chitrakarmarūparekhā, yādṛtśaḥ kavis tādṛiśī kāvyabandhachchhāyā, Viddhasālabhañjikā* 1. The same idea is repeated by Rājaśekhara: *sa yatsvabhavaḥ kavis tādṛiśarūpam kāvyam, yādṛiśākāras chitrakaras tādṛiśākāram asya chitram iti prāyo vādaḥ, Kāvyamīmāmsā*. 10.

The *Chitrasūtra* in the *Vishṇudharmottara*, an early text on the technique and rhetoric of painting, has a description of the three varieties of *vartana* or effects of light and shade in a picture *patravartana*, *binduvartana* and *raikhika vartana* created by hatching, stippling and soft strokes. The importance of firm and sure line drawing, assuring settled contour of form before colouring is specially stresed. Truly, the masters have praised effective line drawing as the highest in art in the line *rekhām praśamsantyāchāryāḥ*. The effect of light and shade, an equally important factor in painting, chiaroscuro as it is known, is given a very high place almost on par with the importancs of line drawing itself by another school of aesthetic thought *vartanām apare jaguḥ*. Decorative element and ornamentation pleases more feminine fancy *striyo bhūshaṇam ichchhanti* while revelry of colour satisfies the craze for glamour in the minds of the generality of spectators *varṇāḍhyam itare janāḥ*. The lines composing the painted fiigures at Ajaṇṭā are so sure, sinuous, rich in form and depth, the gentle effect of shade is so subtle, the colour scheme so pleasing and subdued and the ornamental decoration achieved with such great restraint that this early text is anwered in every respect.

In the commentary on the *Kāmasūtra*, *Jayamaṅgalā*, there is an important couplet giving the traditional standards of painting in ancient India, the six limbs, *shadaṅga*, which comprise *rūpabheda*, variety of form, *pramāṇa*, proportions, *bhāva*, depiction of emotion, *lāvaṇyayojanā*, infusion of grace, *sādṛiśya*, likeness and *varṇikābhaṅga*, mixing of colours to produce an effect of modelling. All these have excellent renderings in the paintings at Ajaṇṭā. The diversity of form (Fig. 151) shown is unique; the painters have mastered the vast complex of human, animal and plant form, in addition to training their imagination for creating diverse designs. The study of form has given the masters at Ajaṇṭā astonishing control over the proportions of figures individually and helped the creation of splendid compositions (Fig. 152). Emotion is seen at its best in several important narrations of stories and scenes. The grace of some of the famous figures, like the princess at her toilet, prince Siddhārtha, the so-called black princess and so forth, bespeak the *lāvaṇyayojana* of the artist. The element of portraiture as seen in some of the Ajaṇṭā figures like Jūjuka the wicked brāhmaṇa, repeated in the panels of the *Vessantara Jātaka* (Fig. 153) or in so typical a face as that of the old chamberlain (cave 2), cannot but make us wonder at this effect of faithfulness to some original, *sādṛiśya*. The way the painter has contrived to mix the colours which have made the paintings truly world famous is a tribute to his capacity in *varṇikābhaṅga*.

Caves no. 9 and 10, both *chaitya* halls with a votive *stūpa* at the apsidal end, exhibiting characteristics of the second century B.C., are the oldest at Ajaṇṭā. Cave 10 has an inscription in Brāhmī letters of the second century B.C. mentioning Vāsiṭhīputa Kaṭahadi as the donor of the facade. The worship of the *Bodhi* tree, the *Sāma* and *Chhaddanta Jātakas* are here graphically represented, though unfortunately now very much mutilated.

It is interesting to study in these paintings the form, features, poses, ornamentation, dress, furniture, architectural setting, and other details corresponding closely, as one might expect, with sculpture of the period. Turbans of great variety, as in sculpture of Amarāvatī, Bhājā, Sāñchī, Kārlā, are represented in the paintings in cave 9 and 10 at Ajaṇṭā. The feminine figures here are almost exact replicas of those with which we are famlliar in early sculpture of the period (Fig. 154a). Even the beautiful jewelled strip along the combed hair and the circular *chaṭulātilaka* gem, running over the parting of the hair to rest on the forehead, is exactly as in sculpture recalling Bāṇa's description : *lalāṭalāsakasya sīmantachumbinaśchatulātilakamaṇer udañchatā chaṭulenāṁśujālena raktāṁśukeneva kṛitaśiro'vaguṇṭhanā* (*Harsha-charita* p. 32). The *phalakahāra* and the *ekāvali* invite our attention. The heavy anklets are similar to those in sculpture—the elaborate

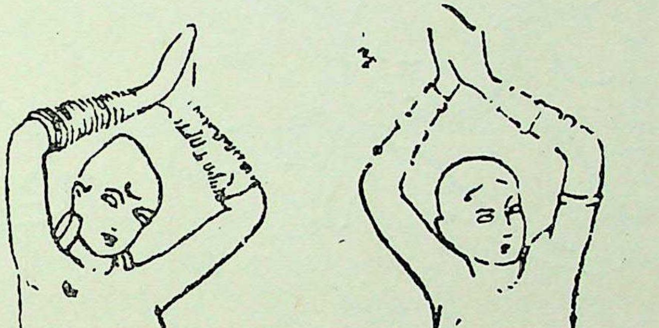

Fig. 154a *Figures from Kārlā and Amarāvatī compared.*

mekhalā or the girdle and the *nīvī* knot of the clothing recall the sculptor's version at Amarāvatī or Kārlā.

Early art in India has almost a similar form all over the land.

The Śuṅgas and Kushāṇas in the north, the Kaliṅgas in the east and the Sātavāhanas in the Deccan were inheritors of common traditions from the Mauryas, and striking similarities in the Śuṅga, Sātavāhana, Kaliṅga and Kushāṇa art cannot but attract the eye of the connoisseur. Common motifs with undoubted resemblance in distant parts of the land urge attention. It is interestihg to compare earlier figures from Bhārhut and Amarāvatī, with those of cave 10 at Ajaṇṭā. Turbans, necklaces, earrings, facial features and the position of hands joined in adoration will be noted, the fan-shaped headgear of the *toraṇasālabhañjikā* at Sāñchī has its counterpart in Mathurā and Amarāvatī. There are other figures from Amarāvatī that agree with those of Kārlā. The traditions of the Sātavāhanas are great, but these are results of the development of art all over the land for some centuries and the unity of Indian art accounts for such similitude of details in concepts.

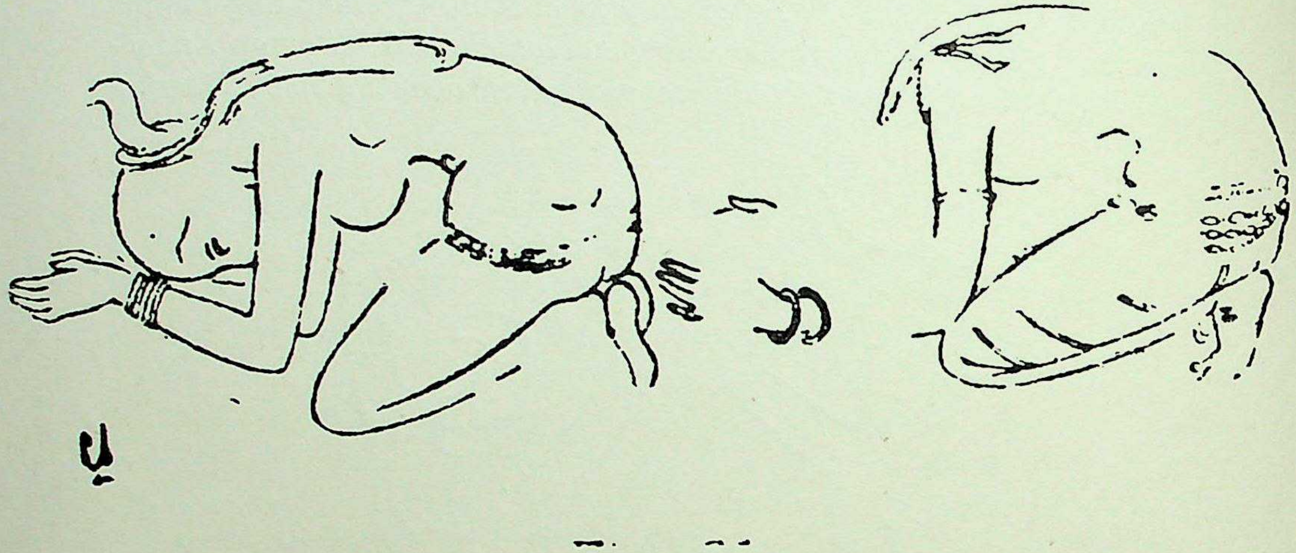

Fig. 154b. *Figures from Amarāvatī and Ajaṇṭā compared.*

The Vākāṭaka traditions as we see at Ajaṇṭā are derived from the earlier Sātavāhana. This can be clearly noted in many echoes here of the painted figures from Amarāvatī. It is only the decorative element, chiefly composed of pearls and ribbons so characteristic of the Gupta-Vākāṭaka age, that distinguishes them from the similar but nobler sculpture of Amarāvatī. Even individual motifs have a great story to tell, as in the case of the *udaremukha* motif occurring in the *Rāmāyaṇa.* Kabandha, headless and with face on stomach (*udaremukha*) has been made use of as the form of an evil one attacking Buddha in the *Māradharshaṇa* scene at Amarāvatī and Ghaṇṭaśālā in the second century A.D. It has been continued at Ajaṇṭā and occurs in still later sculpture, Pallava and early Western Chāḷukya and even in early Choḷa, and, still more interesting, has travelled beyond the shores of India, occurring in its proper context in the ninth century narration of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Prambanan in Java (Fig. 155).

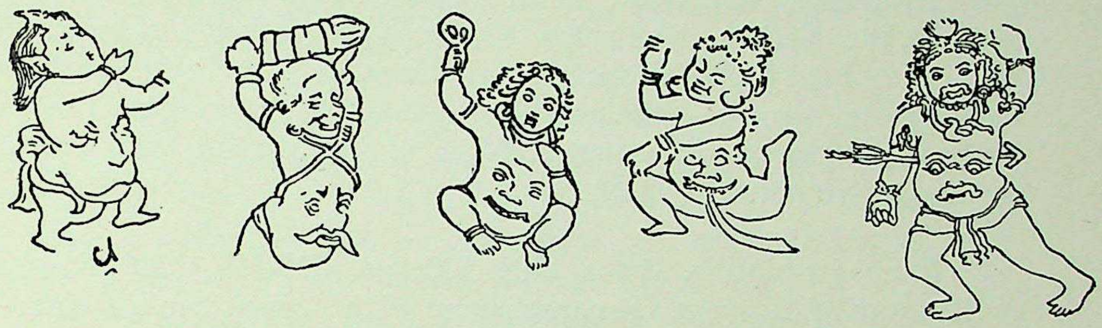

Fig. 155 *Udaremukha at Amarāvatī, Ghaṇṭaśālā. Ajaṇṭā, Bādāmī and Prambanan.*

The beautiful paintings at Ajaṇṭā help us to conjecture and envisage fully the glory of earlier Amarāvatī sculpture (Fig. 154b) and the culture it represents, where the lack of colour stands in the way of comprehending the entire range of rich jewellery, sparkling gems, gay and glamorous drapery, elaborate furniture, and the garments of the peasantry, or the imposing architecture.

Maṅgaleśa, a mansion of *maṅgala*, auspiciousness counted in terms of military success, *chatussāgaraparyantāvanivijayamaṅgalakāgārah*, the auspicious abode of victory on earth extending to the shores of the four oceans, created the famous Vaishṇava cave at

Bādāmī, a gem of art creation of the early Western Chāḷukyan house. Maṅgaleśa was a great patron of art and created some magnificent caves and temples in his capital. This is the loveliest of them all. Here are imposing monumental carvings of forms of Vishṇu, like Trivikrama, Narasiṁha, Virāṭ, Bhogāsanāsīna and Varāha. The last one, the Varāha, being also the *lāñchhana* (emblem) of the Chāḷukyas, has been shown to special advantage, as it also suggests how the king has reason to take pride in shouldering the responsibilities of the vast realm on earth under his sway, like Varāha, who raised the almost submerged Pṛithvī.

In an inscription, dated Śaka 500, i.e. 578-579 A.D., in the twelfth year of his reign, the construction of this cave temple is elaborately described as well as the installation of the image of Vishṇu in it. The inscription near the Varāha panel is full of information and suggests that visitors should look around at the ceiling and walls, and comprehend the wonderful decoration of the cave by craftsmen of Maṅgaleśa.

Though in fragments, a large painted panel, represents a scene in the palace, where the central seated figure is witnessing music and dance. From the balcony above there is a group of visitors watching the scene. The principal figure, with a soft bluish green complexion, is seated with one foot resting on his couch and the other on the *pādapīṭha* (foot stool), but the painting is too nearly obliterated for details to be made out. The beautiful torso of the figure and the two hands can be distinguished. The face is lost, though a portion of the *makuṭa* (crown) is preserved. A beautiful necklace, with lovely pendant tassels, usual in the Chāḷukya style, can be seen on the neck. The *yajñopavīta* (sacred thread) is composed of pearls. At the feet of this important personage are a number of seated figures, mostly damaged, and surrounding him are several damsels in attendance, some of them holding the *chāmaras* (fly whisks) To the left is the orchestra composed of musicians and two beautiful dancing figures—a male and a female—the former in the *chatura* pose, with his left hand in the *daṇḍahasta* (straight across), the latter with her legs crossed almost in the *pṛishṭhasvastik*a (dance pose) attitude and her right hand in *daṇḍa*; she wears her hair in an elaborate coiffure. All the musicians playing various musical instruments like the drum, are women. The scene is placed in a great mansion, with a pillared hall, provided with a *yavanikā* or screen, arranged in a way to indicate the inner apartments of the palace. It may be identified as the scene of Indra in his magnificent palace Vaijayanta, witnessing dance and music, and the dancer may be Bharata or Taṇḍu himself (Fig. 156). It may be recalled that Urvaśī made a mistake on one such occasion of performance at Indra's court.

In this context the next panel can be understood (Fig. 157). This depicts a royal personage seated at ease in the *mahārājalīlā* pose, with his right leg raised and placed on the seat and his left arm resting in a leisurely manner on his knee, his right hand held in *tripatāka* attitude. There are several crowned princes seated on the ground to his right, attending on him and awaiting his orders echoing Kālidāsa's verse *nṛipatayas śataśo maruto yathā śatamakham tam akhaṇḍitapaurusham* (*Raghuvamśa* 9, 13). Towards the farthest end is a woman dressed in a lower garment of the *āprapadīna* type that is anklet length, and holding a *vetradaṇḍa*, or a staff, and she appears to be the usher, or the *pratīhārī*. To the left of the picture is the queen, attended by *prasādhikās* or attendants one of whom is painting her feet with *alaktaka* (red lac). The queen is seated on a low couch with rectangular back provided with cushions. *Chāmaradhāriṇīs* (*chaurī*-bearers), with their hair dressed in the *dhammilla* or *jaṭā* fashion (braided or plaited), attend on her and also on the prince. The queen is seated in a relaxed manner, her right leg touching the *pādapīṭha* (footstool) and the left raised on the seat itself. The *patrakuṇḍalas* (earrings) droop from her ear lobes. The *ananta*, or armlets, entwine her arms. The necklets and bracelets add charm to her already lovely form. Her hair is dressed beautifully in *dhammilla* fashion, and the *chikura*, or ringlets of hair, are visible as they nestle on her forehead. She wears the striped *ardhoruka* or short garment covering the thighs. The prince is swarthy and the queen is of the *gaura* or fair type. The scene is laid in one of the inner apartments of the palace.

This appears to be the portrait of Kīrtivarman, painted as pendant to Indra in all his glory, in his court, to suggest the close similarities that Kālidāsa has so often suggested in his writings. Thus in the line of the *Abhijñānaśākuntalam* 2, 16: *āśamsante surayuyatayo bad-*

dhavairā hi daityair asyādhijye dhanushi vijayam pauruhūte cha vajre, as in that of *Raghuvamśa* 9,12: *śamitapakshabalas śatakoṭinā śikhariṇām kuliśena purandaraḥ sa śaravṛishṭimuchā dhanushā dvishām svanavatā navatāmarasānanaḥ,* he refers to 'the thunderbolt in heaven' and to 'the bow and arrow of the king on earth, as sustaining the two worlds'. The great ruler on earth, when he reached heaven, became a partner in the glory of heaven with Indra. Inscriptions and literature recall the belief that a departed king goes to heaven to be in the congregation of Indra himself. Accordingly Kīrtivarman shares the glory of Indra, in his Sudharmā Devasabhā : *avanim avanatārir yaśchakārātmasamsthām pitari surapatitvam prāptavatyātmaśaktyā* (*C. Inscr Ind.* 3, p. 59) and *tasmin sureśvaravibhūtigatābhilāshe rājābhavad tadanujah kila maṅgaleśaḥ* (*Epigraph Ind.* 6, p. 1ff), 'when he (Kīrtivarman) aspired for the glory of Indra in heaven, his brother Maṅgaleśa became the king' give this idea clearly.

Maṅgaleśa had such great love and respect for his elder brother that he made over to him the merit of the offering of the cave, as recorded in the inscription there. His affection explains the portrait of his brother in an intimate setting with his queen and friendly subordinate rulers. There was no better compliment that Maṅgaleśa could pay his brother than by representing him side by side with Indra. It is also interesting to recall the lines of Kālidāsa in relation to this panel : *aindram padam bhūmigatopi bhunkte* (*Raghuvamśa* 6, 27), *tayor divaspater āsīt ekas siṁhāsanārdhabhāk dvitīyāpi sakhī śachyāḥ pārijātāmśabhāginī* (*Raghuvamśa* 17, 70) which gives stress to both king and queen : he enjoys Indra's glory even on earth; of them, the one occupied half the throne of Indra while the other shared with Śachī (Indra's queen) the celestial tree.

This portrait of the king Kīrtivarman, exactly facing the central shrine, towards the farthest end, allows the royal devotee, long after his physical body had been consumed on the funeral pyre, to pay eternal adoration to Vishṇu.

Among the fragmentary paintings in the cloister cells of the Rājasiṁheśvara temple at Kāñchīpuram, there is one of Somāskanda which indicates a wonderful flow of the lines composing the figures of seated Śiva and Pārvatī, with baby Skanda in the centre and the *gaṇa*, the follower of Śiva, on one side, at his feet, and a charming attendant of Pārvatī beside her at the edge of her seat. When we recall that the Somāskanda theme was the most repeated favourite in Pallava art and that this is the only representation of it in a painting of this period preserved for us, we may very well appreciate how important this is in the study of Pallava painting (Fig. 158). In this very temple is an inscription where Rājasiṁha compares his own birth to that of Kumāra *subrahmaṇyaḥ kumāro guha iva paramād īśvarād āttajanmā S. Ind.Inscr.* 1. p.12. We may recall similar instance of Kumāra-

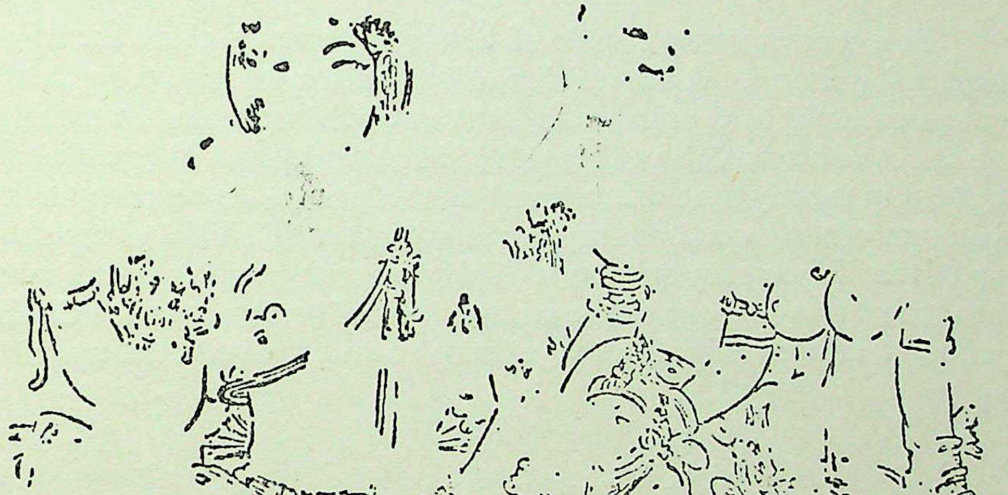

Fig. 158a. *Somāskanda, Pallava, 7th century A.D., Kailāsanātha temple Kāñchīpuram.*

gupta who suggests himself Kumāra on his coin. Rājendra fancied himself Chaṇḍīśvara at the feet of Śiva giving him his laurels. In any case the earlier known Somāskanda form was so repeated that it became ubiquitous. It is a lovely theme of fond parents and a frolicsome child, of the ideal mates and the object of their love, of the philosphy of affection which, though lavished on the off-spring, increases a thousandfold : *rathāṅganāmnor iva bhāvabandhanam babhūva yat prema parasparāśrayam vibhaktam apyekasutena tat tayoḥ parasparasyopari paryachīyata, Raghuvaṁśa* 3, 24.

In a contemporary temple of Śiva at Panamalai there are fragments of painting. A beautiful goddess, with a crown on her head and an umbrella held over her, is Devī as Śivakāmasundarī, watching the dance of her lord, Śiva (Fig, 159). She stands gracefully with one leg bent in exactly the same manner as the princess is represented in sculpture of the second century at Amarāvatī and in Vākāṭaka painting of the fifth century at Ajaṇṭā. This favourite pose continues even into later times and one of the masterpiecss of sculpture in the Choḷa period at Tribhuvanam is a magnificent *surasundarī* (celestial nymph) in an identical pasture. Pārvatī at Panamalai, in this painting, is very close to a large painting of Śiva dancing in the *lalāṭatilaka* (foot

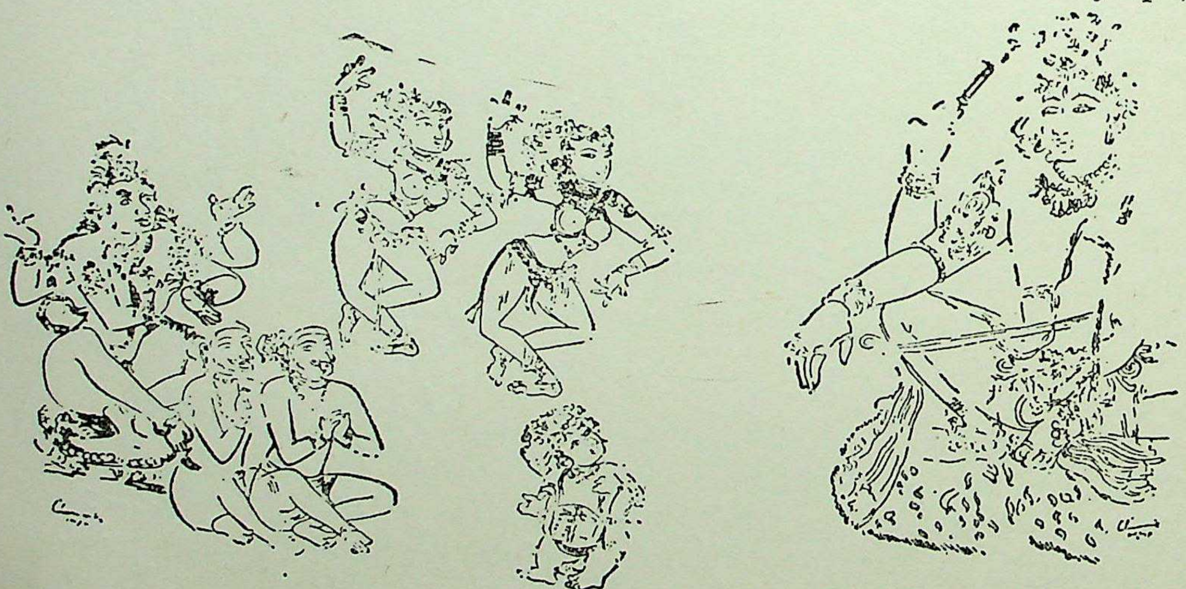

Fig. 162 *Śiva watching the dance of Apsaras, Choḷa, 1000 A.D., Rājarājeśvara temple, Tañjāvur*

touching forehead) pose, multiarmed. exactly as he is portrayed in the relief to the right of the entrance of the main cell of the Kailāsanātha shrine at Kāñchī. Unfortunately in this painting the form is almost completely faded out, though with great difficulty it can be made out by close examination. This figure is in the best Pallava tradition, when Naṭarāja, even then a favourite theme, though his representations became more numerous mainly in the *bhujaṅgatrāsita* (scared by snake) pose with only four arms usually in the Choḷa period, was more often shown multiarmed following the description of Kālidāsa, *paśchād uchchair bhujataruvanam maṇḍalenābhilīnaḥ Meghadūta* 1, 39.

In the ninth century Pāṇḍyan paintings in the Śittannavāśal cave, the portrait of the prince and princess and the two paintings of dancers one of the latter illustrating *daṇḍa* (straight like a rod) and *patāka* (flag) *hastas* with the face slightly tilted suggesting the *bhujaṅgatrāsita* pose, and the other with hand stretched out in joyous *mattallī*, illustrating *nāṭyakaraṇas*, are no doubt interesting; but much more so is the tank containing a delightful picture of fishes, animals, birds and flower-gatherers. The buffalo splashing its horns and enjoying the dip in the cool lotus-filled pool does surely recall Kālidāsa's similar picture in words: *gāhantām mahishā nipānasalilam śṛiṅgair muhus tāḍitam*, *Abhijñānaśākuntalam*.

Flying figures of Vidyādharas with their consorts, against trailing clouds, forming the background, musical figures and other themes, in the ninth century Jaina cave Indrasabhā at Ellora, closely follow early Chāḷukyan tradition (Fig. 160). This is usually seen by comparing these Vidyādhara figures with those from the Bādāmī caves of earlier date. The colour patterns, the arranging of one dark against the other fair, the *muktāyajñopavīta* (sacred thread of pearls) of the male and the *dhammilla* (braid) of the female figure, of their moving forms, against trailing clouds, schematically yet artistically, presented, recall the lines of Vālmīki *praviśannabhrajālāni nishpatamścha muhur muhuḥ prachchhannaścha prakāśascha chandramā iva lakshyate* (*Rāmāyaṇa* 5, 1,81), now entering the clouds and lost, now emerging from them clearly visible, looked like the moon.

In the Kailāsa temple a wonder of a Rāshṭrakūṭa monument of

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the eighth century, a rare painting of Naṭarāja is typical of the Chāḷukyan mode, multiarmed in the *bhujataruvana* manner. Though partially lost, the painting of Liṅgodbhava, with Śiva appearing from out of the *liṅga*, with Brahmā and Vishṇu on either side, is here very significant, not only for its artistic excellence, but also for the importance that the Liṅgodbhava form has at Ellora. Behind the main cell, beyond the courtyard and in the cloistered walk around it, there is in the centre a huge figure of Liṅgodbhava, with equally huge images of Vishṇu and Brahmā on either side, in separate cells, an arrangement laying special emphasis on this form as has never been done anywhere else. This aspect of Śiva is the most repeated in the *Devāram* hymns where Tirunāvukkaraśu, Jñānasambanda, Sundara and Māṇikkavāchaka often hail him who is not easily available even to Hari and Brahmā so close to him. Śaṅkara himself says *haribrahmādīnām api nikaṭabhājām asulabham, Śivānandalaharī* and Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkshita sums it up in the line *mūlam cha maulim cha vivektukāmau yasyākrametām vidhir achyutaścha, Śivalīlārṇava* 2, 47.

The refreshingly natural panel of the elephants emerging from the lotus pool after a cool refreshing dip (Fig. 161) does certainly recall Kālidāsa's description of the wild elephant emerging from the stream of the river, its plunging in the water earlier indicated by the bees hovering abode the surface of the water, the ichor washed off from its temples: *athoparishṭād bhramarair bhramadbhiḥ prāksūchitāntassalilapraveśaḥ nirdhautadānāmalagaṇḍabhittir vanyas saritto gaja unmamajja, Raghuvamśa* 5, 43. Both the ichor and the lotus pollen attract the bees. The pool in the painting is lotus-laden.

The Choḷa paintings of the time of the emperor Rājarāja in the Rājarājeśvara temple at Tañjāvur constitute a wealth of visual knowledge, the rich culture of the period in glorious colour. Here is to be studied iconography with special reference to the attitude of the monarchs of the time, the hey day of fine arts like dance, music, literature, the deep impression of the lives of Śaivite saints that preceded the emperor by only fourteen or fifteen decades, the actual personality of the emperor, his queens and retinue, in short the colour and glamour of a long episode of imperial prosperity.

His painters were well-read in addition to their mastery of their art. How else could they paint the seated Śiva as Yogadakshiṇāmūrti with *yogapaṭṭa* or *paryaṅkagranthibandha* (band of cloth round the legs) across his waist and right knee, calmly watching the dance of Apsaras (Fig. 162) recalling the *nāndīśloka* of the *Mṛichchhakaṭika: paryaṅkagranthibandhadviguṇitabhujagāśleshasaṁvītajānoḥ antaḥprāṇāvarodhavyuparatasakalajñānaruddhendriyasya ātmanyātmānameva vyapagatakaraṇam paśyatas tatvadṛishṭyā śambhor vaḥ pātu śūnyekshaṇaghaṭitalayabrahmalagnas samādhiḥ.*

The painter has been lavish in his embellishment and has made the two dancing nymphs correspond exactly to the description of the *daitya* princess Mahallikā in the *Kathāsaritsāgara: lalāṭatilakopetām chārunūpurapādikām smeradṛishiṭim vidhātraiva sṛishtām nṛittamayīm iva keśair arālair daśanais śikharair bibhratīm stanau uromaṇḍalinau nṛittam sṛijatīm iva nūtanam*, with jewel on forehead and anklet on foot, joyous eyes, curly hair, pearly teeth and rounded breasts, she appeared as though she were Dance itself fashioned by the Creator to create fresh modes of dance. The single dancer at one end (Fig. 163), with her body twisted at the back most dextrously in the *pṛishṭhasvastika*, with the legs crossed and the face turned artistically to look back, with her braid filled with flowers, is a lovely dream of the painter.

The epithet of *vismayalolitamauliḥ*, nodding the head in wonder, and the sarcastic remark of Damodaragupta in the case of the vain Bhaṭṭaputra in his Kuṭṭanīmata, *brahmoktanāṭyaśāstre gīte murajādivādane chaiva abhibhavati nāradādīn prāvīṇyam bhaṭṭaputrasya*, the knowledge of Bhaṭṭaputra in the texts on dance, music and playing of instruments like the drum is such as to put to shame even Nārada and others, are in a literal sense truthful in the case of the quaint little dwarf drummer in the painting, who exhibits in his form, personality and movement that essential and superior knowledge of *saṁgīta* (music) and *nāṭya* (dance) which is a regular feature with the Gaṇas of Śiva of whom he is one.

The picture close to it, of a well-caparisoned horse with its rider speeding ahead of the magnificent white elephant and its rider, illustrates Cheramān preceding Sundara on their journey to Kailāsa, narrated so vividly by Śekkiḻār in his *Periyapurāṇam*. Other scenes

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from the life of Sundaramūrti are the elaborate preparations for the feast on the day of the marriage of Sundaramūrti, the arrival and argument of Śiva as an old Brāhmaṇa claiming not only Sundara but his father and grandfather as well among his bond-slaves. The text of the *Periyapurāṇam* is wonderfully anticipated in this painting and there can be no doubt that Śekkiḷār should have seen, enjoyed and utilized this pictorial source as well in his narrative.

The monumental painting of Tripurāntaka (Fig. 164) on a chariot driven by Brahmā shows him eight-armed, in the *ālīḍha* pose of a warrior, using his mighty bow to overcome the Asuras, a host of whom the painter has depicted opposite, with fierce indomitable spirit, clearly portrayed in their attitude, fierce eyes, flaming hair and upraised weapons, daunted by nothing, little caring for the pleas and tears of their women, who cling to them in despair. Less as aides and more as companions of Śiva are shown Kārtikeya on his peacock, Gaṇeśa on his mouse and Kālī, the war goddess, on her lion; Nandī is complacently quiet in front of the chariot. This is a great masterpiece of Choḷa art. The figure of Tripurāntaka in the *ālīḍha* (warrior) pose in the Pallava tradition, is seated, and this is a remarkable specimen continuing the earlier mode. It recalls the famous imagery of Śiva in his Tripurāntaka form by Kālidāsa where Rāghu is likened to the Destroyer of the Tripuras in warrior pose: *atishṭhad ālīḍhaviśeshaśobhinā vapuḥprākarsheṇa viḍambiteśvaraḥ*, *Raghuvaṁśa* 3, 52. The war-lord Rājarāja, victorious in his expeditions, could do no better than thank his inspirer Tripurāntaka in this huge panel, symbol of his success in war campaigns.

His special predilection for his family deity Naṭarāja so often mentioned in his inscriptions, and after whom he named even weights and measures, is repeated vividly in his sacred golden hall at Chidaṁbaram, where he has shown himself, his queens and retinue in the most reverential attitude(Fig. 31). Here, and in the painting of himself with his guru Karuvūrār, we find excellent and valuable portraits of the great emperor of whom we know so much more than of any one else because of his long and revealing inscriptions on the plinth of his great temple at Tañjāvur.

The Vijayanagara traditions, found all over the vast empire in

Āndhra, Karṇātaka, andTamil areas, though seen also in Kerala, are not so clearly perceptible as in other areas, since the local traditions, reinforced strongly by the Chāḷukya-Hoysaḷa traditions, that flowed into the region through the earlier contacts and feuds had an efflorescence in a peculiar regional school of decorative art, strongly recalling *Kathakaḷi*, *Oṭṭantuḷḷal* and other modes of dance drama with picturesque costume and embellishment. The leather shadow play figures, *Olapāvakūttu*, have also the same decorative patterns and designs.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes, painted in the long room to the west of the coronation hall, called the *Palliarai*, form a remarkable collection of typical paintings of the period, the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century. This was the time of the influence af Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭātiri, the author of the famous *Nārāyaṇīyam*, a Sanskrit poem, condesing the *Bhāgavata* and giving the glory of Kṛishṇa of Guruvāyur, which was and continues to be the most popular in Malabar. His *Mahābhāratachampū*, in *Prabandha* style, that inspired the Pāṭhaka story tellers of Malabar, also contributed greatly to making the episodes of Kṛishṇa's life most popular. As in many others, in the Govardhana scene (Fig. 166), the ease with which Kṛishṇa lifts the mountain, while playing the flute with his other hand, or joking with the concourse of cowherds and milkmaids, assembled under this strange canopy, recalls the verse in the context from the *Nārāyaṇīya* which was, no doubt, on the lips of everyone in Malabar : *bhavati vidhṛitaśaile bālikābhir vayasyair api vihitavilāsam kelilāpādilole savidhamilitadhenūr ekahastena kaṇḍūyati sati paśupālās tosham aishanta sarve, Nārāyaṇīya* 63, 5 ; ' as he raised the hill, he pleased them all, joking merrily with the girls and companions, and caressing the cows as they approached him'.

The paintings from the temple at Trichur, which come closer in date and spirit of execution and style, present a theme which is a great favourite in this region—Rāma as conceived in the *dhyānaśloka*: *vaidehīsahitam suradrumatale haime mahāmaṇḍape madhye pushpakam āsane maṇimaye vīrāsane susthitam agre vāchayati prabhañjanasute tatvam munibhyaḥ param vyākhyāntam bharatādibhiḥ parivṛitam rāmam bhaje śyāmalam*, seated in *vīrāsana* with the thumb and pointing figure of the right hand brought together in the attitude of teaching the highest principle in philosphy to the assembled sages and his brothers, while Hanumān reads the text from the manuscript in his hand. This occurs in Maṭṭañcheri palace also. Uttered by all that recite the *Rāmāyaṇa* in *pārāyaṇa* (chant) every day in South India, this verse is even today significant as representing a tradition. There are miniature bronzes from the Tamil area showing this special attitude of Rāma as a teacher. It occurs in the paintings at Triprayār and in Tiruvañchikuḷam, and also in wood-carvings from the Ettumānur temple, dated in the middle of the 16th century.

The Mughal paintings illustrating the valuable memoirs of the emperor Bābar are interesting as they follow the details of the vivid narration of events recorded by him. Though they are later in date being of the time of Akbar they still are faithful, the distance of a few decades hardly making any difference. For understanding and visualising the narration in the *Bābar Nāma* these are of the utmost utility, apart from their importance in the sequence of aesthetic appreciation and development of the court style of painting under the Mughals.

Bābar was fond of hunting. There is an interesting hunting episode wherein the rhinoceros is the target and the fight is from elephant-back (Fig. 167). Some of those in the party including Humāyun had never seen a rhino before. Morover Bābar was anxious to see the reaction of the rhino as the elephants came up facing it. The picture is vivid in all these details and we may quote from his own account. After a little, a person brought word that there was a rhino in a bit of jungle near Bigram, and that people had been stationed near about it. We betook ourselves, loose rein, to the place, formed a ring round the jungle, made a noise and brought the rhino out, when it took its way across the plain. Humāyun and those with him from that side (Tramontana), who had never seen one before, were much entertained. It was pursued for two miles; many arrows were shot at it; it was brought down without having made a good set at man or horse. Two others were killed. I had often wondered how a rhino and an elephant would behave if brought face to face: this time one came but right in front of some elephants the mahauts were bringing along; it did not face them when the mahauts drove them towards it, but got off in another direction'.

In the medieval period it was not a rare sight to find cocks, rams, bulls and elephants set to fight. In fact it was a tradition from an earlier age. There is a vivid description of ram-fight and cock-fight observed by the Vidūshaka in one of the seven courts of the mansion of Vasantasenā the opulent courtesan of Ujjayinī described in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika.* Even sculptures from Angkor Thom in Cambodia illustrate cock-fight. Ram-fight is seen in an intersting sculptural frieze and bull-fight in a painting at Ajaṇṭā. This is of the Vākāṭaka age. Wrestlers fighting was a common sight through all the ages. The fight of Bhīma and Kīchaka and Bhīma and Jarāsandha are the best classical examples. There is a fine Gupta sculpture illustrating Bhīma's fight with Jarāsandha now in the Lucknow Museum.

A painting illustrating all these fights together in one picture and answering Bābar's personal note on this in his memoirs is again exciting as the visual narration in painting far exceeds in its vividness the statement in writing. The painting (Fig. 168) shows in a sequence so to say the ram-fight, the wrestlers and the elephants respectively with the horns, arms and trunks interlocked, the camels just entering the affray and Bābar watching from his couch under canopy with evident interest. To quote Bābar 'They poured the red and white on a carpet I had ordered spread, and side by side with the gold and silver, white cotton piece cloth and purses (*badra*) of money. While the gifts were being brought and before food, fierce camels and fierce elephants were set to fight on an island opposite, so too a few rams; thereafter wrestlers grappled'.

Bābar's interest in rearing gardens is again well known. His memoirs and the illustrations thereof abundantly prove his passion- for creating such bright surroundings of colourful verdure. A painting shows Bābar personally supervising the garden layout (Fig. 169), the arrangement of channels and seats near the spring and so forth. His own statement which the picture follows carefully is interesting. 'I ordered that the spring should be enclosed in mortared stone-work, 10 by 10 and that a symmetrical, rightangled platform should be built on each of its sides, so as to overlook the whole field of Judas trees. If, the world over, there is a place to match this when the arghwans are in full bloom, I do not know it. The yellow arghwan grows plentifully there, also the red and the yellow flowering at the same time.

In order to bring water to a large round seat which I had built on the hillside and planted round with willows, I had a channel dug across the slope from a half-mill stream constantly flowing in a valley to the south-west of Sih-yaran'.

An incident from Bābar's life, when he was so very ill as to be fed on drops of water squeezed from a piece of cotton on his lips into his mouth is most faithfully depicted in the painting illustrating his own detailed description of it (Fig. 170). Bābar says 'just then I was recovering from illness but, not have been able to take due care in the days of convalescene, I went all to pieces again and this time, became so ill that for four days my speech was impeded and they used to drop water into my mouth with cotton.'

One of the attacks of Bābar, a successful one, is graphically discribed by him with a special tribute paid to one of his able warriors who was wounded in the eye not unlike Harold in 1066 at the battle of Hastings. The pictorial version of Bābar's verbal description (Fig. 171) goes into the details of the hurt in the eye sustained by Kichik Khwaja and the immense pain experienced by him that resulted in his death a couple of days later. 'On arriving at Qalat says Bābar 'we attacked at once and from all sides, without our mail and without siege-appliances. As has been mentioned in this History, Kichak Khwaja, the elder brother of Khwaja Kalan, was a most daring brave; he had used his sword in my presence several times: he now clambered up the south-west tower of Qalat, was pricked in the eye with a spear when almost up, and died of the wound two or three days after the place was taken.'

The *Āin-i-Akbarī* is very vivid in the narration of Akbar's recognition of and encouragement of talent in drawing and painting just as he encouraged calligraphy. 'Drawing the likeness of anything is called *tasvir*. His majesty, from his early youth, has shown a great predilection for this art, and gives it every encouragement, as he looks upon it as a means, both of study and amusement. Hence the art flourishes, and many painters have obtained great reputation. The works of all painters are weekly laid before His Majesty by the

Daroghas and the clerks; he then confers rewards according to excellence of workmanship, or increases the montly salaries. Much progress was made in the commodities required by painters, and the correct prices of such articles were carefully ascertained. The mixture of colours has especially been improved. The pictures thus received a hitherto unknown finish. Most excellent painters are now to be found, and masterpeices, worthy of a Bihzad, may be placed at the side of the wonderful works of the European painters who have attained world-wide fame. The minuteness in detail, the general finish, the boldness of execution, etc, now observed in pictures, are incomparable; even inanimate objects look as if they had life, More than a hundred painters have become famous masters of the art, while the number of those who approach perfection, or of those who are middling is very large. This is especially true of the Hindus, their pictures surpass our conception of things. Few, indeed, in the whole world, are found equal to them' *Āin-i-Akbarī* p. 114.

Abu-l-Fazl mentions by name a number of artists and gives a short biographical sketch of each. About Daswanth he says 'Dasvanth. He is the son of a palkee-bearer. He devoted his whole life to the art and used, from love of his profession, to draw and paint figures, even on walls. One day the eye of His Majesty fell on him ; his talent was discovered, and he himself handed him over to the Khwaja. In a short time he surpassed all painters, and became the first master of the age. Unfortunately the light of his talents was dimmed by the shadow of madness ; he committed suicide. He has left many masterpieces'. About Khwaja he says, 'Khwaja Abdus Samad, styled *Shringalam* or sweet pen. He comes from Shiraz. Though he had learnt the art before he was made a grandee of the court, his perfection was mainly due to the wonderful effect of a look of His Majesty, which caused him to turn from that which is form to that which is spirit. From the instructions they received, the Khwaja's pupils became masters'. A number of painters are named. 'The following painters have likewise attained fame : Kesu, Lal, Mukund, Mushkin, Farrukh the Qalmag, Madhu, Jagan, Mohesh, Khemkaran, Tara, Sawla, Haribas, Ram. It would take me too long to describe the excellences of each. My intention is "to pluck a flower from every meadow, an ear from every sheaf' ".

Abu-l-Fazl then gives an appraisal of the collective accomplishment of the painters. He says 'the number of masterpieces of painting increased with the encouragement given to the art. Persian books, both prose and poetry, were ornamented with pictures; and a very large number of paintings was thus collected. *The story of Hamzah* was represented in twelve volumes, and eleven painters made the most astonishing illustrations for no less than one thousand and four hundered passages of the story. The *Chingiznāma*, the *Zafarnāma*, this book, the *Razmnāma*, the *Rāmāyaṇ*, the *Nal Daman*, the *Kalilah Damanh*, the *Ayar Danish*, etc., were all illustrated. His Majesty himself sat for his likeness, and also ordered to have the likenesses taken of all the grandees of the realm. An immense album was thus formed : those that have passed away have received a new life, and those who are still alive have immortality promised them'.

Against this background the paintings of the time of Akbar and Jehāngir have to be studied and understood. We know from *Akbar Nāma* how the emperor heard of the fame of Tansen and required him in his court and how he was sent by Rājā Rāmchand from his court that he earlier adorned to decorate the imperial seat itself. Says Abu-l-Fazal 'His fame had reached Akbar : and in the 7th year, the Emperor sent Jalal-ud-Din Qurchi to Bhath, to induce Tansen to come to Agra. Rām Chand feeling himself powerless to refuse Akbar's request, sent his favourite, with his music instruments and many presents to Agra, and the first time that Tansen performed at Court, the Emperor made him a present of two lakhs of rupees. Tansen remained with Akbar. An excellent portrait of Tansen in the National Museum (Fig. 172) is the best painting of the musician among those of him known and shows him a stately figure worthy of an emperor's court. It is a typical example of the *tasvir* that Abu-l-Fazl mentions of several grandees of the emperor's court that were painted.

Some of the finest pictures of birds and animals are of the Mughal painters. Mansur excelled in them. He worked with Akbar and continued under Jehāngir. In his *Tuzuk-i-Jehangirī*, the emperor records that 'Ustad Mansur has become such a master in painting that he has the title of Nadir-ul-Asr, and in the art of drawing is unique in his generation.' The turky-cock from the Victoria and

Albert Museum is a striking bird study. Another remarkable picture by Mansur is a salt-water fish c, 1617 from the Red Fort Museum at Delhi (Fig. 173) with a note in the handwriting of Jehāngir describing it as an Arab salt water fish found in the river and the work of Nadir-ul-Asr Ustad Mansur (*Lalit Kala* 17, p. 36). It is a painting with the maximum effect achieved by the least number of masterly brush strokes clearly answering the old dictum of Indian masters 'very sparing in drawing but appearing full in form' *api laghu likhiteyam dṛiśyatī pūrṇamūrtiḥ.*

CHAPTER SIX

MANUSCRIPTS

The discovery of rare manuscripts has revolutionised thought towards Indian History. Till the discovery of the text of the *Arthaśāstra*, that was well known from references to it in literature, as for instance of Bāṇa who felt it was rather harsh in its procedures, *kim vā teshām sāmpratam yeshām atinṛiśaṁsaprāyopadeśanirghṛiṇam kauṭilyaśāstram pramāṇam* (*Kādambarī* p. 179) and of Viśākhadatta who considers Kauṭilya crooked-minded and so full of anger as to burn in its flame the family of the Nandas, *kauṭilyaḥ kuṭilamatis sa esha yena krodhāgnau prasabham adāhi nandavaṁśaḥ*, *Mudrārākshasa*, 1, 7, there was a different idea of India's ideas and ideals of statecraft derogatory to her ability that was later revealed in the text discovered.

Kauṭilya was also known as Vishṇugupta by which name he is reverently alluded to by Kāmandaka in *nītiśāstrāmṛitam śrīmān arthaśāstramahodadheḥ ya uddadhre namas tasmai vishṇuguptāya vedhase*, Kangle, *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* 3, p. 4. *Nītisāra* 1, 6. In the *Mudrārākshasa* itself Kauṭilya finally bows to Rākshasa giving his name Vishṇugupta : *chāṇakyaḥ—aye ayam asāvamātyarākshasaḥ bho amātya rākshasa, vishṇugupto' ham abhivādaye*, and Rākshasa, in his turn admires him (*svagatam*) *ayam durātmā athavā mahātmā kauṭilyaḥ, ākaras sarvaśāstraṇam ratnānām iva sāgaraḥ guṇair na paritushyāmo yasya matsariṇo vayam*, *Mudrārākshasa* 7, 7. Daṇḍin also refers to Kauṭilya as *āchārya* Vishṇugupta who had abridged the work in six thousand *ślokas* for the Mauryas : *adhīshva tāvad daṇḍanītim, iyam idānīm āchāryavishṇuguptena mauryārthe shaḍbis ślokasahasrais saṁkshiptā*, *Daśakumāracharita*, 8. The allusion of Kauṭilya to his rescuing (*uddhṛitāni*) the *śāstra*, (Political Science), *śastra* (weapon, meaning power) and *bhū* (the kingdom itself) at the end of his text is indeed valuable as throwing light on his role as mentor of Chandragupta.

A look at the earlier edition of Smith's Early History of India before this discovery and the later edition so different in the appraisal of the Indian approach in statecraft would clearly indicate the tremendous consequences of the find of this text, as earlier, it was only the account given by Megasthenes that was available as evidence. The world cannot be sufficiently grateful to Shama Sastri for editing and translating the text and Ganapati Sastri who followed it up. Every chapter is replete with valuable references. To take an example, jewellery, a whole sheaf is explained in detail, and items like *phalakahāra* in its varieties like *triphalaka*, *pañchaphalaka*, *saptaphalaka* etc., that figure only in the earlier sculptures of the first two centuries B.C. and drop out or fade altogether in later sculpture and painting even from the second century A.D., show what contemporary or nearly contemporary records mean to understand a period of history. Fortunately the importance of this text has been well recognized and the text, commentaries and valuable elaborate studies of the material have been made available, the latest being the magnificent study by Kangle.

Before the discovery of Bhāsa's plays, the great poet was just known from allusions to him with reverence by successive poets. Kālidāsa at the commencement of his *Mālavikāgnimitra* refers to the eminence of Bhāsa, Saumilla and Kaviputra as great in the field of drama, *prathitayaśasām bhāsasaumillakaviputrādīnām prabandhān atikramya vartamānakaveḥ kālidāsasya kriyām imām drashṭum katham parishado bahumānaḥ.* Bāṇa gives just an idea of the structure and appearance of Bhāsa's dramas by stating that he attained fame by his dramas, commenced by the *sūtradhāra*, with innumerable characters and episodes as by the creation of temples begun by the architect, multistoried and flag-decorated, *sūtradhārakṛitārambhair nāṭakair bahubhūmikaih sapatākair yaśo labhe bhāso devakulair iva*, *Harshacharita* 1, 15. Rājaśekhara, in a verse attributed to him in the *Sūktimuktāvali*, praises the quality of Bhāsa's innumerable dramas (*bhāsanāṭakachakra*) and specially notes that though these were thrown on fire for a test, *Svapavāsavadatta* could not be consumed by the flames : *bhāsanāṭakachakrepi chhekaiḥ kshipte parīkshitum svapnavāsavadattasya* *dāhako'bhūnna pāvakaḥ*, *Peterson's Introduction to Subhāshitāvali* p. 80-81. This is an important allusion that not only establishes the superiority of this drama among the rest but also to the incident of fire in that drama that could not harm the queen Vāsavadattā. Vāmana quotes from this famous drama while Abhinavagupta names this as well as *Chārudatta*. Bhāmaha discusses *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa*. The *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* quotes the verse alluding to Bhāsa's illuminating literature *bhāsayatyapi bhāsādau kavivarge jagattrayīm ke na yānti nibaddhāraḥ kālidāsasya dāsatām*. With so much known about them already, and material available for checking up, the appearance of the newly discovered plays of Bhāsa over six decades ago, when Ganapati Sastri gave them to the world, became a great event. The thirteen plays were really a *bhāsanāṭakachakra*, a cycle of dramas. They may or may not be full texts, adaptation for enactment in Malabar not being infrequent. These plays of Bhāsa couched in a simple and appealing language with wit to boot as in the vain repetitive prattling of Śakāra *eshā hi vāsūḥ śirasi gṛihītā keśeshu vāleshu śiroruheshū kūja kranda lapa vārtam maheśvaram śaṅkaram īśvaram vā* : there is the girl I have siezed by her head, hair, braid, pleats; cry, lament, wail, moan piteously calling Maheśvara or Śaṅkara or Īśvara. The simiplicity, charm, elegance of diction and subtle humour characterising the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, an early drama, should be studied in relation to the *Chārudatta* of Bhāsa. The popularity of Udayana's stories alluded to by Kālidāsa is seen here in Bhāsa in abundance. *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa* is in a way more engaging than *Svapnavāsavadatta*. The *Dūtavākya* is a stirring little episode from the *Mahābhārata*. *Madhyamavyāyoga* is a touching episode created by Bhāsa where the word, *madhyama*, understood by Bhīma as meaning himself, saves the poor juvenile victim who could only lament discarded by the parents, to whom am I dear : *pitror anishṭaḥ kasyedānīm priyaḥ*, and what irony Ghaṭotkacha saying, *mama*. *Ūrubhaṅga* has the pathos of the mighty Duryodhana lying helpless in the throes of death. By one stroke Bhāsa elevates the character of Duryodhana to sublimity by introducing a strange remorse by which he justifies the logic of his sad end. With his head bent on the feet of the enraged Baladeva he begs of him not to harm the Pāṇḍavas. Let the only clouds to shower funeral offerings for the Kurus live, enmity, dissentions and we ourselves are all gone : *jīvantu te kurakulasya nivāpameghā vairam cha vigrahakathās cha vayam cha nashṭāḥ*, *Ūrubhaṅga*, 31. *Pratimā-*

nāṭaka is another wonder creation of Bhāsa by an adaptation of the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. *Bālacharita* dealing with the juvenile sports of Kṛishṇa introducing Nārada as *gaganasañchārī trishu lokeshu viśrutaḥ brahmalokād iha prāptaḥ nāradaḥ kalahapriyaḥ*. *Pañcharātra* is a vivid representation of the *gograhaṇa* and *Dūtaghaṭotkacha* a debut of Bhīma's son as something more than a *dūta*, both themes from the *Mahābhārata*, while *Abhishekanāṭaka* is an adaptation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story like the *Pratimānāṭaka*. The very essence of the play *Karṇabhāra* is summed up in the eulogy of great qualities the fame of which survive mortal bodies, which determines why *dharma* should be attained assiduously protecting the realm, royal prosperity being all atremble like the viper's tongue : *dharmo hi yatnaiḥ purusheṇa sādhyo bhujaṅgajihvāchapalā nṛipaśriyaḥ tasmāt prajāpālanamātrabuddhyā hateshu deheshu guṇā dharante*. *Avimāraka* has an interesting story for its theme. The discovery of these plays opened up new vistas in the study of Sanskrit literature. In the wake of this, a number of other manuscripts of similar dramas were discovered.

The *Chaturbhāṇī*, a bunch of four *bhāṇas*, *Padmaprābhṛitaka*, *Pādatāḍitaka*, *Dhūrtaviṭasamvāda* and *Ubhayābhisārikā*, is indeed exceptionally witty with its rare pages revealing the rich culture of about the beginning of the Christian era in India. The importance of these *bhāṇas* would be clear when we realise how they have been studied, translated by several scholars with avidity and interest.

The dig at a grammarian cannot but rouse a smile. 'How are you contemplating peregrinations, Wait, why this rush? Oh dear'. Please show mercy, you should not belabour me with such thunderbolt vocabulary as by thrashing with a rod, please speak in a language intelligible; *kim bravīshi, kva samchichīrshuḥ, tishṭha tishṭha, kim asi dudrūshuḥ iti, hā dhik, prasīdatu bhavān, nārhasyasmān evamvidhaiḥ kāshṭhaprahāranishṭhurair vāgaśanibhir abhihantum, Padmaprābhṛitaka*, p. 9. Comparisons are really odious as in the statement a Bactrian as courtesan, a monkey as a dancer, a Mālava-born as a lover and a donkey as a vocalist in music are in excellence of quality quite the same as I understand it : *yavanī gaṇikā, vānarī nartakī, mālavaḥ kāmukaḥ, gardabho gāyakaḥ iti guṇataḥ sādhāraṇam avagachchhāmi, Pādatāḍitaka* p. 40. There is a fling at unscrupulous deceit in the remark roguery is a flair of intelligence to somehow secure wealth:

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śāṭhyam nāmārthanirvartako buddhiviśeshaḥ, Dhūrtaviṭasamvāda, p. 24. For an unbridled youth the father is certainly a cerebral malady incarnate : *pitā nāma khalu sayauvanasya purushasya mūrtimān śirorogaḥ: Dhūrtaviṭasamvāda*, p. 5. A sarcastic compliment is couched in the remark that even the dead would be roused to life by the honey on the lips of the courtesan: *mṛitam api purusham saṁjīvayed veśyāmukharasaḥ, Dhūrtaviṭasamvāda*, p. 5.

A synopsis of the essentials of *Nāṭyaśāstra* is almost created in a description of the attainments of the charming young courtesan Priyaṅgusenā, who has a wealth of rare merits like a treasure of beauty, blooming youth, colour and lustre, mastery over the four modes of dance, *āṅgika* body movement, *āhārya* dress and make up, *vāchika* textual accompaniment and *sāttvika* expressive of emotion, thirtytwo modes of the hand like *chaturaśra, udvitta, talamukha, svastika, viprakīrṇa, arāla, khaṭakāmukha, āviddhavaktra, sūchyāsya, rechita, ardharechita, uttāna, vañchita, pallava, nitaṁba, keśabandha, latāhasta, parihasta, pakshavañchitaka, pakshapradyotaka, garuḍapaksha, daṇḍapaksha, ūrdhvamaṇḍalī, pārśvamaṇḍalī, uromaṇḍalī, uropārśvārdhamaṇḍala, mushṭika, svastika, nalinī, padmakośaka, alapallavolbaṇa, lalita* and *valita*, eighteen varieties of glances, six stances like *vaishṇava, samapada, vaiśākha, maṇḍala, pratyālīḍha* and *ālīḍha*, three motions i.e. half, middling and fast, eight flavours like erotic, farcical, pathetic, heroic, terrific, fearful, repugnant and wonderful, three musical rhythmic modes vocal and instrumental and many more such dance components that are beautified by association with her : *yasyāstāvat prathamam rūpaśrīṇavayauvanadyutikāntyādīnām guṇānām sampat, chaturvidhābhinayasiddhiḥ, dvātriṁśadvidho hastaprachāraḥ, ashṭādaśavidham nirīkshaṇam, shaṭ sthānāni, gatitrayam, ashṭau rasāḥ, trayo gītavāditrādilayā, ityevamādīni nṛittāṅgāni tvadāśrayeṇālaṅkṛitāni, Ubhayābhisārikā* p. 13. This is only a sample of the kind of valuable cultural material that these *bhāṇas* abound in, affording a cross check of technical texts wherever necessary to enrich, correct or modify or even arrive at conclusions regarding prior or posterior development of the nuances making the elaboration of each individual branch of the fine arts.

The life and culture of the period, the foibles of youth, the intellectual equipment in various branches of learning and fine arts like dance, music, painting etc., a sneer at ostentatious ritual, a light-hearted approach towards life in the case of a section of the people are all revealed in profusion in these four burlesques vividly picturing life two thousand years ago. Like Rājaśekhara in the tenth century who was widely travelled and Kshemendra, here are texts that give a peep into the regional habits of a great subcontinent. The discovery and publication of the four *bhāṇas* has considerably enriched Sanskrit literature and opened up vistas to understand India of two thousand years ago.

The importance of the discovery of a valuable manuscript is realised all the more, when fragments found quoted in other works and pieced together give a fairly intelligible sequence of events and the trend of the theme, though still with an amount of uncertainty and lack of definiteness in regard to details, keenly arousing disappointment in the decree of fate in denying yet the discovery of a complete manuscript of the work desired. Ramakrishna Kavi discovered some passages quoted from a still undiscovered drama *Devīchandragupta* in Bhoja's *Śṛiṅgāraprakāśa* (*Ind. Ant.* 52, p. 182). At the same time Silvain Levi found some more passages from the same drama given in the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* by Rāmachandra and Guṇachandra, the latter itself a new discovery (*Journal Asiatique* cc111, p. 201), whence it was also learnt that the author of the drama was Viśākhadatta *yathā viśākhadattakṛite devīchandragupte mādhavasenām samuddiśya kumārachandraguptasyoktiḥ.* Later Raghavan found more passages from *Devīchandragupta* in Sāgaranandin's *Nāṭakalakshaṇakośa* (*Jour. Banaras Hind. Univ.* 2, p. 307) and a known quoted passage from *Śṛiṅgāraprakāśa* and *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* occurring also in the *Abhinavabhāratī*, commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* by Abhinavagupta (*Jour. Banaras Hind. Univ.* 2, p; 23). Bhandarkar, Altekar, Mirashi and Paramesvarilal Gupta have discussed these passages at length, the first three on the discovery of the passages before Raghavan's discovery of more passages. The passage describing Chandragupta, then a prince, intensely feeling for the helpless queen Dhruvadevī, who once so charming, now looked so different on account of her pitiable condition and sorrow, appearing like the digit of the moon just out of the mouth of Rāhu, and langorous by the complex presence in her of different emotions like shame, anger, sorrow, fear and dislike, consequent on her husband's unworthy behaviour as of an impotent though born a

male, is a vital one: *yathā devīchandragupte chandragupto dhruvadevīm dṛishṭvā svagatam āha. iyam api sā devī tishṭhati yaishā-ramyām chāratigupteva chāndrī kalā patyuḥ klībajanochitena charitenānena pumsas sato lajjākopavishādabhītyaratibhiḥ kshetrīkṛitā tāmyati* (*Journal Asiatique* cc 111, p. 206).

The self confidence and brave sallying forth of the prince as a single warrior in the disguise of a woman Dhruvadevī is evident in his remark to the Vidūshaka, Oh! fool you overlook valour and make much of numerical strength. Look! the lion, the very scent of which makes innumerable deer run away in great fear, emerges alone laughing as it were and shaking his mane, on sighting large heavy-built mighty elephants. What does numerical strength matter for a hero: *aho mūrkha satvam utsṛijya samkhyāyām bahumāno bhavataḥ, paśya, sadvamśān pṛithuvarshmavikramabalān dṛishṭvādbhutān dantinaḥ hāsasyeva guhāmukhād abhimukham nishkrāmataḥ parvatāt ekasyāpi vidhūtakesarajaṭābhārasya bhītā mṛigāḥ gandhād eva harer dravanti bahavo vīrasya kim samkhyayā*, *Ind. Ant.* 52, p. 182.

There is another significant passage from *Devīchandragupta* giving the substance of the theme of the drama in the first few lines introducing a long conversation between the king Rāmagupta and the disguised prince Chandragupta listened to by the queen Dhruvadevī from behind the curtain. It reads: Prince Chandragupta disguised in the dress of queen Dhruvadevī and ready to start for killing the enemy is spoken to by king Ramagupta who had agreed to give away Dhruvadevī to the Śaka to secure peace for his subjects, *yathā devīchandragupte dvitīyeṅke prakṛitīnām āśvāsanāya śakasya dhruvadevīsampradāne abhyupagate rājñā kumāraguptena arivadhārtham yiyāsuḥ pratipannadhruvadevīnepathyaḥ kumārachandragupto vijñāpayannuchyate*, *Journal Asiatique* cc 111 p. 203.

Confirming all this is Bāṇa's remark in his *Harshacharita* that Chandragupta, concealed in the dress of the beloved one, killed the king of the Śakas in the city of the enemy, even as he was expressing his passion to another's wife: *aripure cha parakalatrakāmukam kāminīveshaguptas chandraguptas śakapatim aśātayat*, *Harshacharita* p. 200. The commentary of Śaṅkara further elucidates this by stating that the

Śaka king who coveted Dhruvadevī, wife of the brother of Chandragupta, was killed by the latter disguised as a woman in the dress of Dhruvadevī and accompanied by men disguised as women: *śakānām achāryas śakapatiḥ chandraguptabhrātṛijāyam dhruvadevīm prārthayamānaḥ chandraguptena dhruvadevīveshadhāriṇā strīveshajanaparivṛitena vyāpāditaḥ.*

The recent discovery of three inscriptions on the pedestals of sculptures of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras from Durjanpura village near Besnagar and now in the Vidiśā Museum, two of Chandraprabha and one of Pushapadanta, all at the instance of *Mahārājādhirāja śrī* Rāmagupta (*Jour. Orient Inst. Baroda*, 19, p.247f; *Epigraph Ind.* 38, p.46-49) clearly proves the historicity of the king and confirms the literary references earlier discussed. We may add to this the citation of an example of an historical event (*muktakakathotthā* variety of *Vastusvarūpa*) by Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāmsā* where he alludes to the queen Dhruvasvāminī given away by Śarmagupta, surely a misspelling for Rāmagupta, to the Śaka king misspelt again as Khasa: *datvā ruddhagatiḥ khasādhipataye devīm dhruvasvāminīm yasmāt khaṇḍitasāhaso nivavṛite śrīśarmagupto nṛipaḥ* (*Jour. Bihar Orissa Res. Soc.* 14, p. 230).

Kshemendra in his *Auchityavichāracharchā* has quoted a passage from an yet undiscovered work *Kuntaleśvaradautyam* ascribing it to Kālidāsa. As an example of the propriety of the locative sense he gives the justification of his act pronounced by an ambassador who, denied a seat worthy of the emperor he represented at the court where he had come on a diplomatic mission, but yet nobly and from a sense of expediency ignoring it, took his seat on the ground itself, and justified his action by giving lofty examples of the Meru, crest of all mountains resting on the earth, the seven and even other oceans laying their burden again only on the earth, which itself shone resting on the pillar namely the expanded hood of the lord of snakes: *adhikaraṇauchityam yathā kunteśvaradautye kālidāsasya—iha nivasati meruḥ śekharaḥ kshmādharāṇām iha vinihitabhārās sāgarās sapta chānye idam ahipatibhogastambhavibhrājamānam dharaṇitalam ihaiva sthānam asmadvidhānām, atra maharājadūtopi sāmantasthāne svaprabhusamuchitagauravapūjārham āsanam anāsādya kāryavaśena bhūmāvevopavishṭo prāgalbhagāmbhīryeṇaivam brūte yathāsmadvidhānām vasudhātala eva bhujaga-*

patibhogastambhaprāgbhāranishkampe dharāsane sthānam yuktam yasmād ihaiva merur achalachakravartī samupavishṭaḥ saptamahābdhayaścha tattulyatā eva asmākam ityauchityam adhikaraṇapadasambaddham eva (*Auchityavichāracharchā*, p. 64).

Another passage from the same work quoted by Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāmsā*, by Bhoja in his *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharāṇa* and *Śṛiṅgāraprakāśa* and by Maṅkhuka in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa* elucidates further that the ambassador sent was Kālidāsa by Vikramāditya to the court of the king of Kuṅtala. This passage is almost a sequal to the earlier one, and mentions how, on a query from Vikramāditya about how the ruler of Kuṅtala was faring, is told that he is drinking the sweet, fragrant faces of his beloved ones bright with smiles and inebriate half-closed blue-tinged lotus-eyed, leaving the burden of government to Vikramāditya himself, and Vikramāditya, in turn thereon, is satisfied and is happy to allow him so, taking on himself the burden of state: *tadyathā kālidāsaḥ kim kuntaleśvaraḥ karotīti vikramādityena pṛishṭaḥ uktavān asakalahasitatvāt kshālitānīva kāntyā mukulitanayanatvād vyaktakarṇotpalāni pibati madhuśagandhīnyānanāni priyāṇām tvayi vinihitabhāraḥ kuṅtalānām adhīśah,idam eva ūhayitvā vikramādityaḥ pratyuvācha, pibatu madhusugaṅdhīnyānanānipriyāṇām mayi vinihitabhāraḥ kuṅtalānāmadhīśaḥ*, Raghavan's *Bhoja's Sṛiṅgāraprakāśa* p. 779. The details of the context of this passage are however not found in the passage giving this verse in the *Kāvyamīmāmsā*, though Rājaśekhara is the earlier to give it (*Kāvyamīmāmsā* p. 60).

The discovery and publication of a manuscript, *Kaumudīmahotsava* by the poetess Vijjikā, again by Ramakrishna Kavi along with Ramanatha Sastri *Jour. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.* 2 and 3 *Dakshiṇa Bharatiya Sanskrit Series* 4, Madras, 1929)aroused quite a controversy about the interpretation of the historical events contained in it discussed by Jayaswal (*Annals Bhandarkar Orient Res. Inst. 12, p. 50 ; Jour. Bihar Orissa Res. Soc.* 19, p. 113-14), by Dasaratha Sharma (*Jour. Bihar Orissa Res. Soc.*2 1, p. 77; 22, p. 275; *Ind. Hist. Quart* 10, p. 763; 11 p. 147) Kshetreshchandra Chattopadhyaya (*Ind. Hist. Quart.* 14 p. 593-602). In her new edition of *Kaumudīmahotsava* (Bombay 1952) Shakuntala Rao identifies Vijjikā with Vijayabhaṭṭārikā, the queen of Chandrāditya,son of Puḷakeśin atthe beginning of the 7th century.

Mahendravarman I, the art-minded Pallava king, had several titles among which occur *Mattavilāsaḥ*, and in his Māmandur inscription, this as well as another *Bhagavadajjuka* are found. Till the discovery of the manuscript of *Mattavilāsaprahasana*, a burlesque by the ruler himself, it was not clear why he had such a title. This farce is one of the most enjoyable in Sanskrit literature, is of early seventh century and reveals the life of the day at Kāñchīpuram, the Pallava capital, with a subtle humour and a dig at the degenerate Buddhist monks, bacchanalian Kāpālikas and others. Mahendravarman here gives an eulogistic account of his father Siṁhavishṇu as the mountain of distinction on the vast earth expanse of the Pallava family, as outshining Kubera by the great wealth of gifts befitting his prosperity, and as victorious over a vast circle of vassal kings by the use of all expediencies, mentioning himself as his son : *pallavakuladharaṇimaṇḍalakulaparvatasya sarvanayavijitasamastasāmantamaṇḍalasya śrīmahimānurūpadānavibhūtiparibhūtarājarjasyaśrī siṁhavishṇuvarmaṇaḥ putraḥ śatryushaḍvarganigrahaparaḥ parahitaparatantratayā mahābhūtasadharmā mahārājaśrī mahendravikramavarmā*, *Mattavilāsa* p. 3. A picture of Mahendravarman himself is given describing all important qualities like intelligence, charity, mercy, nobility, effulgence, skill in arts, truthfulness, humility and other such as finding no other abode sought him as their refuge in this age of Kali, as all varieties of the created finally merge in the Primal One at the end of eaon : *prajñādānadayānubhāvadhṛitayaḥ kāntiḥ kalākauśalam satyam śauryam amāyatā vinaya ityevaṁprakārā guṇāḥ aprāptasthitayas sametya śaraṇam yātā yam ekam kalau kalpānte jagadādim ādipurusham sargaprabhedā iva*, *Mattavilāsa* p, 3.

His subtle humour is matched by his occasional lampoons as against the degenerate Buddhist monks of Kāñchī, 'How wonderful' remarks the Śākyabhikshu 'How great is the liberality of the merchant lay-worshipper Dhanadaśreshṭhī, who feeds us with a plethora of tasty flavoured fish and flesh', and as he approaches the great monastery remarks again, this time praising the most merciful Lord Buddha, who had blessed them with residence in mansions, sleep on downy couches, food in the forenoon, tasty drinks in the afternoon, scented pan, soft and fine-textured apparel, but why has he overlooked providing wine for drinking and enjoyment of damsels? He however corrects himself with the remark that 'surely the All-knowing

Omniscient One would not have overlooked this; only these wicked old Sthavira monks themselves void of enthusiasm and jealous of us the younger folk have purged the *piṭaka* texts of the two, Oh! where can I obtain the unpurged original text, when I can enlighten the world with the unabridged text of the Master and favour the world':

Śākyabhikshuḥ -aho upāsakasya dhanadaśreshṭhinas sarvāvāsadānarabahuloyam piṇḍapātaḥ samāsāditaḥ, yāvad idānīm rājavihāram eva gachsuvihitaśayyeshu paryaṅkeshu śayanam, pūrvāhṇe bhojanam, aparāhṇe surasāni pānakāni, pañchasugandhopacthitam tāmbūlam, ślakshṇavasanakhalu nārīparigrahas surāpānavidhānam cha na dṛishṭam, athavā katham sarvajña etan na paśyati, avaśyam etair dushṭabuddhasthavirair nirutsāhair asmākam taruṇajanānām matsareṇa piṭakapustakeshu strīsurāpānavidhānāni parāmṛishṭanīti tarkayāmi, kutra nu khalvavinashṭamūlapāṭham samāsādayeyam tatas sampūrṇam buddhavachanam loke prakāśayan saṅghopakāram karishyāmi, Mattavilāsa p. 12. He has a dig even at Buddha and makes the Kapālī remark 'I should say the salutation to Kharapaṭa who originated the scientific text on thieving. Oh! no! it is only Buddha who excels even Kharapaṭa in this. Look! he made the volume of his text by gathering material from the *Upanishads* and the *Mahābhārata* even as the dazed learned Brāhmaṇas looked on.

Kapālī—namaḥ kharapaṭāyeti vaktavyam yena choraśāstram praṇītam athavā kharapaṭādapyasminnadhikāre buddha evadhikaḥ kutaḥ vedāntebhyo gṛihītvārthān yo mahabhāratād api viprāṇām mishatām eva kṛitavān kośasañchayam, Mattavilāsa, p. 15.

The discovery of two other valuable manuscripts *Avantisundarīkathā* and *Avantisundarīkathāsāra*, the former in prose and the latter a summary of the former in verse, has shed great light on Pallava history. Ramakrishna Kavi should be thanked for his indefatiguable efforts to unearth such rare manuscripts. Apart from their value as literature they establish the date of Daṇḍin the author, the relationship of Bhāravi and Daṇḍin and the patronage extended to Bhāravi by Siṁhavishṇu towards the close of the sixth century A.D. by inviting him to his court at Kāñchīpuram when he heard of him staying with the Western Gaṅga King Durvinīta. He had been earlier patronized by Kubja Vishṇuvardhana, brother of Puḷakeśi: *asti prāsādavistāragrastavyomāntarā purī kāñchīpurākhyā kalyāṇī kakubhaḥ kumbhajanmanaḥ yā bhṛityavigaladbhogair asamkhyavasubhir janaiḥ bhogavatyamarāvatyau nyakkurvāṇeva garvitā tasyām jajñe budhavrātadhvastākhilavipallavaḥ pallaveshu mahīpālas siṁhavishṇur iti śrutaḥ . . . . sa medhāvī kavir vidvān bhāraviḥ prabhavo girām anurudhyākaron maitrīm narendre vishṇuvardhane. . . . sa durvinītanāmāsīd ananvarthābhidhānavān tasyāntike vasatyesha tenāryeyam udīritā iti śrutvā mahīpālas tadālokanalolupaḥ anekaśrīmukhākṛisṭam akarod amum ātmasāt.* The *Avantisundarīkathāsāra* has an interesting account of Daṇḍin's early stay at Kāñchī, when he was quite young, when there was a confusion due to the Chāḷukyan onslaught: *kumāram daṇḍināmānam vyaktaśaktim ajījanat. sa bāla eva mātrā cha pitrā chāpi vvayujyata garīyasyā sarasvatyā śrutena cha. . savikraye pure tasmin parachakroparodhataḥ sa chachāra śubhāchāraḥ sarvām urvīm udāradhīḥ.* His later visit was for a longer stay, enjoying the patronage of the Pallava monarchs. *athāhūtaḥ kshitīśena praśāntopadrave pure sasuhṛidbandhumadhyasthas sa bheje nijam āspadam.* Among Daṇḍin's friends were Mātṛidatta and Rāmaśarman. There is also the story in this of how Daṇḍin was asked to see and certify the excellence of the work of a *śilpin* who had repaired the broken hand of the Śayanamūrti of Vishṇu in the temple at the sea shore in Mahābalipuram *mahāmallapure devas svairam vāridhisannidhau āste mukundas sānandam phaṇīndra iva mandire bhagnaḥ kenāpi tasyāsīd maṇibandhe mahābāhus sa mayā sandhito'dhunā tad ālokitum arhanti bhavantas sādhu vā na vā.*

The find of the manuscript of Nannechoḍa's Telugu work *Kumārasambhava*, again by Ramakrishna Kavi, was an event, as it is considered earlier than even the *Āndhramahābhārata* of Nannaya who was a contemporary of the Eastern Chāḷukyan king Rājarāja. Apart from its tremendous value as a literary work revealing the beginnings of Telugu poetry, it throws a flood if light, to take only one field, on the process of painting and its adherence to the accepted classical method expounded in the *Vishṇudharmottara* about five centuries earlier. The author's wide learning and liberal education is clearly seen in the several technical terms aptly used by him in references to subjects unconnected with his main stream of literary narration.

Several remarks of Nannechoḍa on art, whether sculpture or metal work or painting, reveal his close acquaintance with the subject. Such for instance are the lines *vanne lerugaṅgabolune vaṭṭirāta* 'can a mere scribbler know the artistic value of colours', *barapagu chitrarūpamunu bolen asatkavikāvyam immahin* 'the composition of a bad poet is like an illcast figure full of pores', *chitrarūpamunaku meruṅgekku vidhambuna* 'like as shine given to a picture', *varachitravarṇasaṁkaramu gādu* 'it is not excellent mixture of colours', *niḍupu leka chitramu vrāya* 'to draw a picture without its length or dimensions'.

There is a whole long passage giving a complete picture of a painter at work (Fig. 174) and the various stages in the preparation of a painting, the like of which is rarely found in literature other than technical. The line *chitrasādhanambulu goni* gives the collecting of materials like the board, canvas, brush and colours as in *idam phalakam, esha chitrapaṭaḥ, iyam cha tūlikā, ime cha varṇasambhārāḥ* elsewhere enumerated by another poet. In the next stage the word used is *phalaka ghaṭṭiñchi* meaning the preparation of the canvas as in *yathā dhauto ghaṭṭitas cha lāñchhito rañjitaḥ paṭaḥ* of Vidyāraṇya in his *Pañchadaśī*. The next process is described as *meruṅgiḍi* which literally means 'giving brilliance'. We know that brilliance was most essential as in *aujjvalyam kāntir ityāhur guṇam guṇaviśāradāḥ purāṇachitrasthānīyam tena vandhyam kaver vachaḥ* where Vāmana in his *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛitti* explains how those knowledgeable in the merits of a work know the merit brilliance as lustre and the words of the poet lacking it are like a faded old picture devoid of the fresh glow of colours. Rājānaka Kuntaka has also in his *Vakroktijīvita* stressed *chhāyā* or effulgence in a picture when he says the capacity of a poet which appeals to the reader is different from the means he adopts for achieving his composition just as the skill of the painter that captivates is, in the case of a picture, different from the excellence of the board, drawing, colour and brilliance: *manojñaphalakollekhavarṇachchhāyāśriyaḥ pṛithak chitrasyeva manohāri kartuḥ kim api kauśalam.* Kuntaka himself explains *chhāyā* as *kānti*. Rājaśekhara and many other poets are against *purāṇachchhāyā* in a picture and stress *aujjvalya* as seen in his line describing the world appearing at sunset like an old picture dimmed by smoke: *dhūmaśyāmapurāṇachitrarachanārūpam jagajjāyate.*

Nannechoḍa takes the next stage and says *trivaṭiñchi* meaning 'having marked the *trivaṭi*'. *Trivaṭi* is from *vaṭa vibhājane* meaning to divide. Here are the three principal divisions meant, *brahamasūtra* and *bahissūtras*. This is clear in the light of the next phrase *tiṭṭambu kolatiki techchi* having adjusted the proportions to proper measurement. The next phrase in the sentence is *ṛijvāgatambuna nūlkolipi* having outlined in the straight or *ṛijvāgata* pose. This is one of the five views recognised in the *Śilpaśāstra* front, three quarters, profile

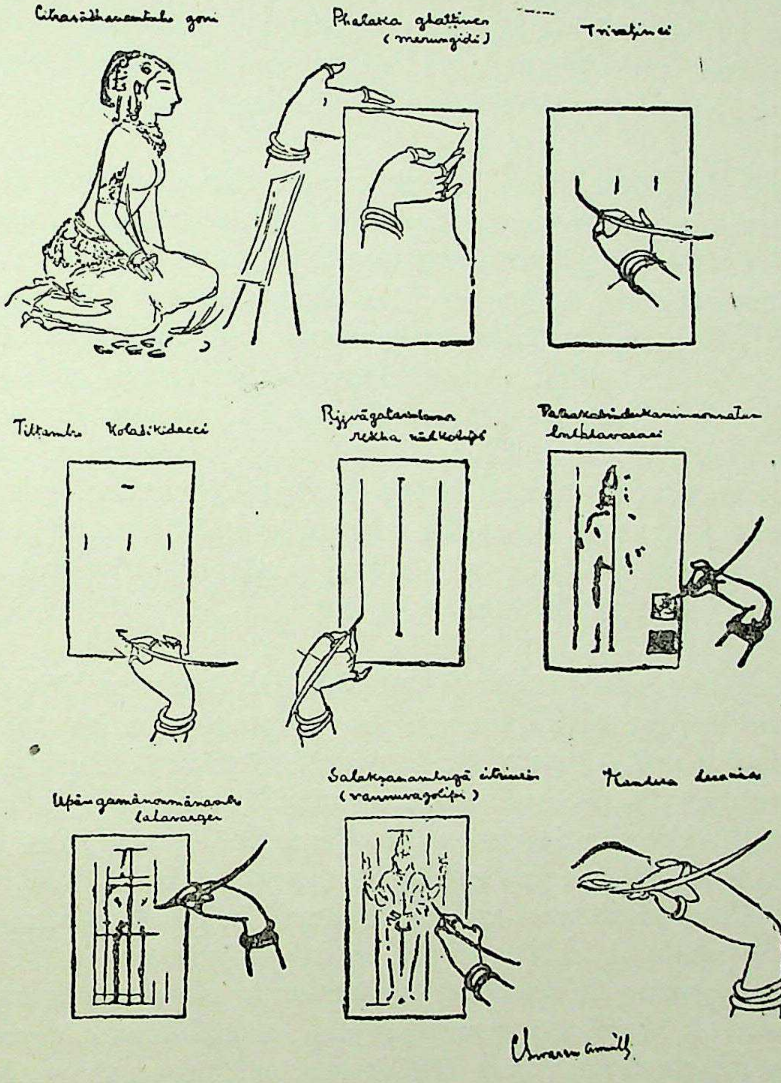
Citrasādhanambulu goni
Phalaka ghaṭṭinci
(merungidi)
Trivaṭinci
Tiṭṭambu kolatikidacci
Ṛjvāgatambuna
rekha nūlkolipi
Upāṅgamānonmānamulu
lalavarcci
Salakṣaṇamulugā citrinci
(vannuvagolipi)

Fig. 174. *Proces of Painting a Picture*

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and two in between. The word *nūlkolipi* has reference to the use of powdered thread by the *śilpin* on a board ar any surface to make measurements, which accounts for the epithet *sūtradhāra*' the holder of thread'. 'It is explained by a commentator of *Naishadhīyacharita* in explaining a *śloka* (15,34), *śilpinas cha kim api lekhitum vardhayitum vā likhyamānasya vardhyamānasya vākāravakrimaparihārāya mashīkhaṭikādyupadigdhasya sūtrābhighātena rekhāpātanam kurvanti.*

The further description is even more illuminating. There are two further stages of work envisaged in the rather long phrase *patrakabindukanimmonnatāpāṅgamānonmānambulalavarachi* wherein the last word *alavarachi* meaning 'have settled the measure of' is to go along with both *patrakabindukanimnonnatambulu* and *upāṅgamānonmānaṁbulu* separately. The first phrase refers to the values of light and shade and means 'having measured the heights and depths i.e. lights and shades, results of the shading method of crosshatching and stippling.' We may recall the text of the *Vishṇudharmottara* laying down the methods of shading *tisras cha vartanā proktāḥ patraraikhikabindujāḥ* there are three kinds of shading *patra*, *raikhika* and *binduja*, crosshatching, line shading and stippling.

The next phrase *upāṅgamānanonmānambulala varachi* is drawing after measuring out the different limbs in proportion to the body. The stage after this is *salakshaṇaṁbuga chitriñchi* sketching the settled outline deeply. Then comes *vannuva golipi* having laid in colours. The last act in the painting is *kandera derachina* having lifted the veil of the eyes meaning opening of the eyes, *unmīlana* as *Kālidāsa* describes in the line *unmīlitam tūlikayeva chitram* in his *Kumārasambhava.* Ratnākara pointedly refers to the opening of the eyes in the picture in his lines *yasyabhiyātibhavaneshvasamāptachitrasambhārabhittipurushā malinībhavantaḥ unmīlanāvasaraśūnyadṛiśas samiddhām dadhyur divāniśam iva śriyam avyavasthām*, the figures, painted on the walls of his enemies' palaces, being left unfinished, and with their eyes not yet opened, understood that prosperity was ephemeral like the night and day, *Haravijaya* 16, 65.

These are just a few examples to illustrate the vast scope of this fascinating subject. There are many works in diflerent branches of knowledge and of different periods of history, manuscripts still, their very existence yet to be determined, and when found, to be published and made available to an expectant world, eager for elucidation of its knowledge in many ways and in several spheres.

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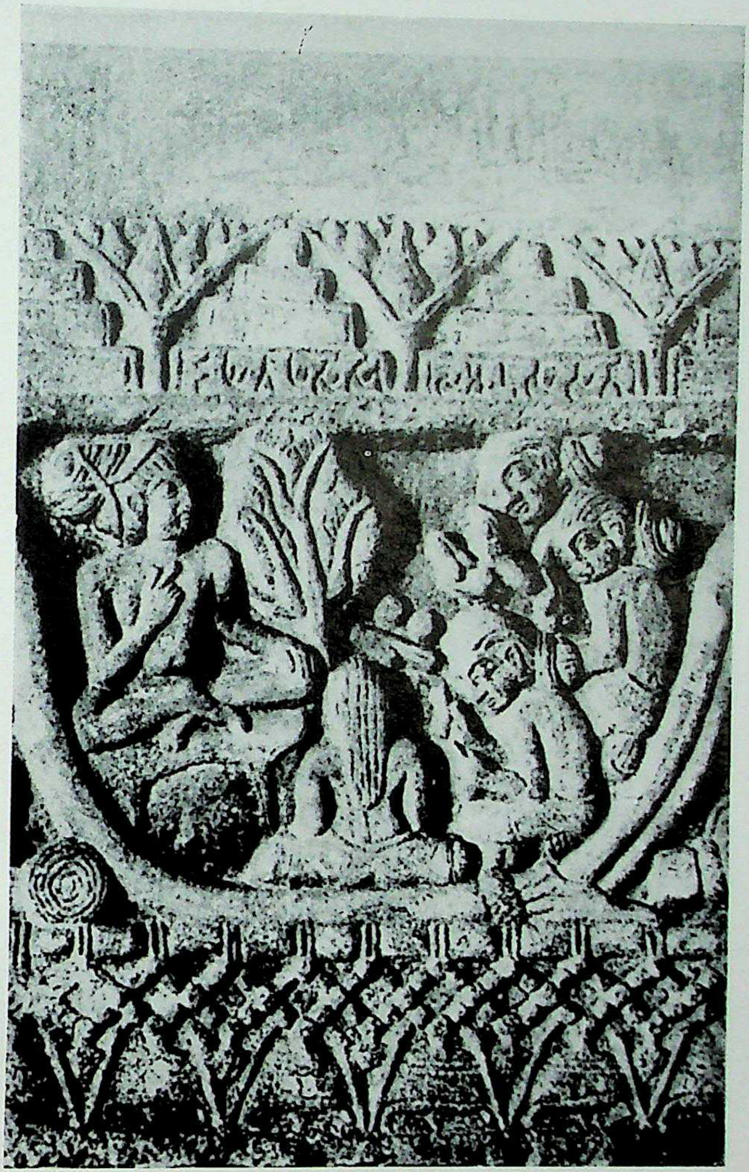


Fig. 1. Ṛishi Dīrghatapas teaching his disciples, Śuṅga, 2nd century B.C., Bhārhut, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

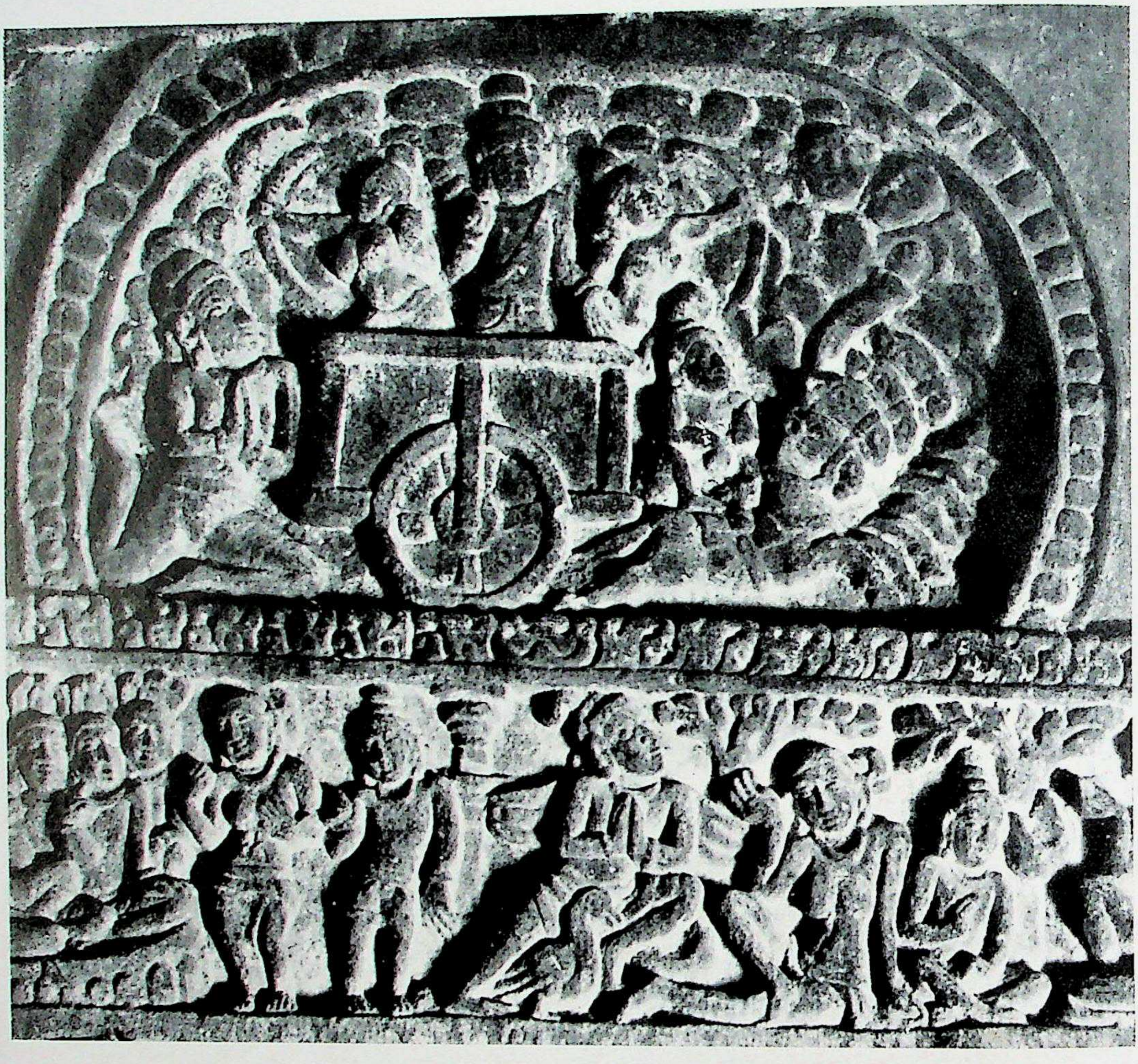


Fig. 2 Yājñavalkya following Sūrya, Early Western Chālukya, 8th century A.D., Virūpāksha temple, Paṭṭaḍakal.

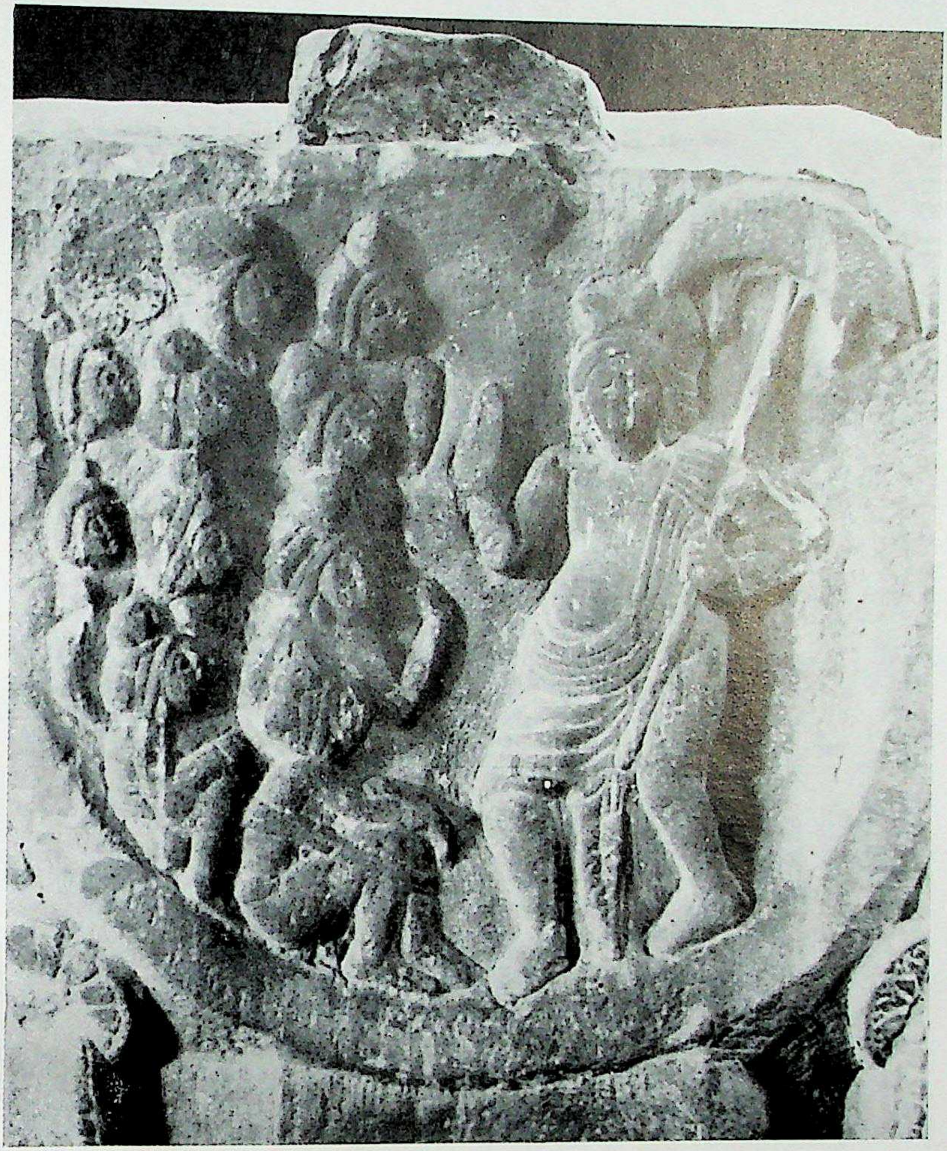


Fig. 3. *Guru* and *śishyas*, Śuṅga, 1st century B.C., Mathurā Museum, Mathurā.

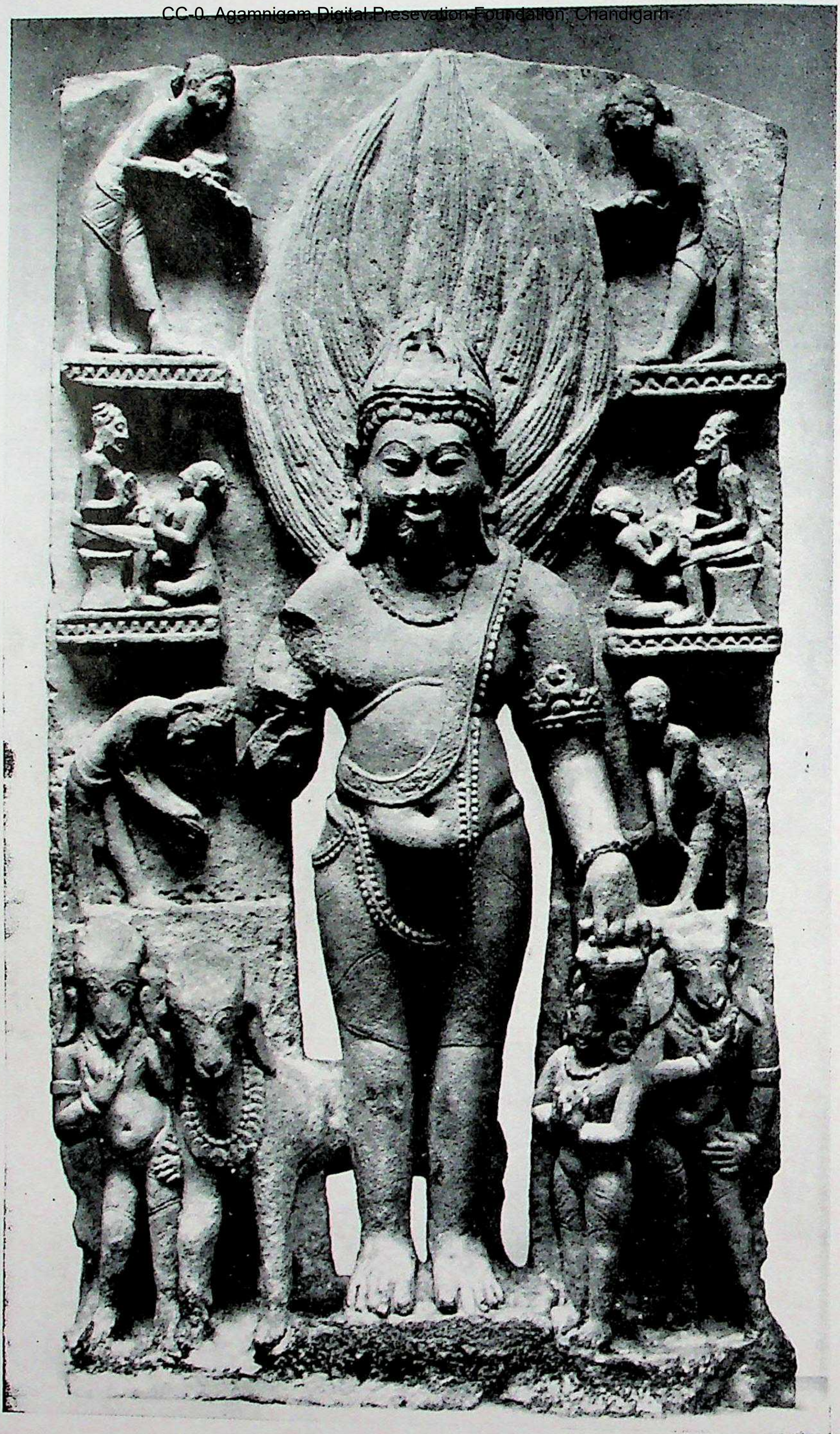


Fig. 4. Agni and *brahmachārī* at his study and worship, Gurjara Pratīhāra, 9th century A.D., Uttar Pradesh, Cleveland Museum, U.S.A.

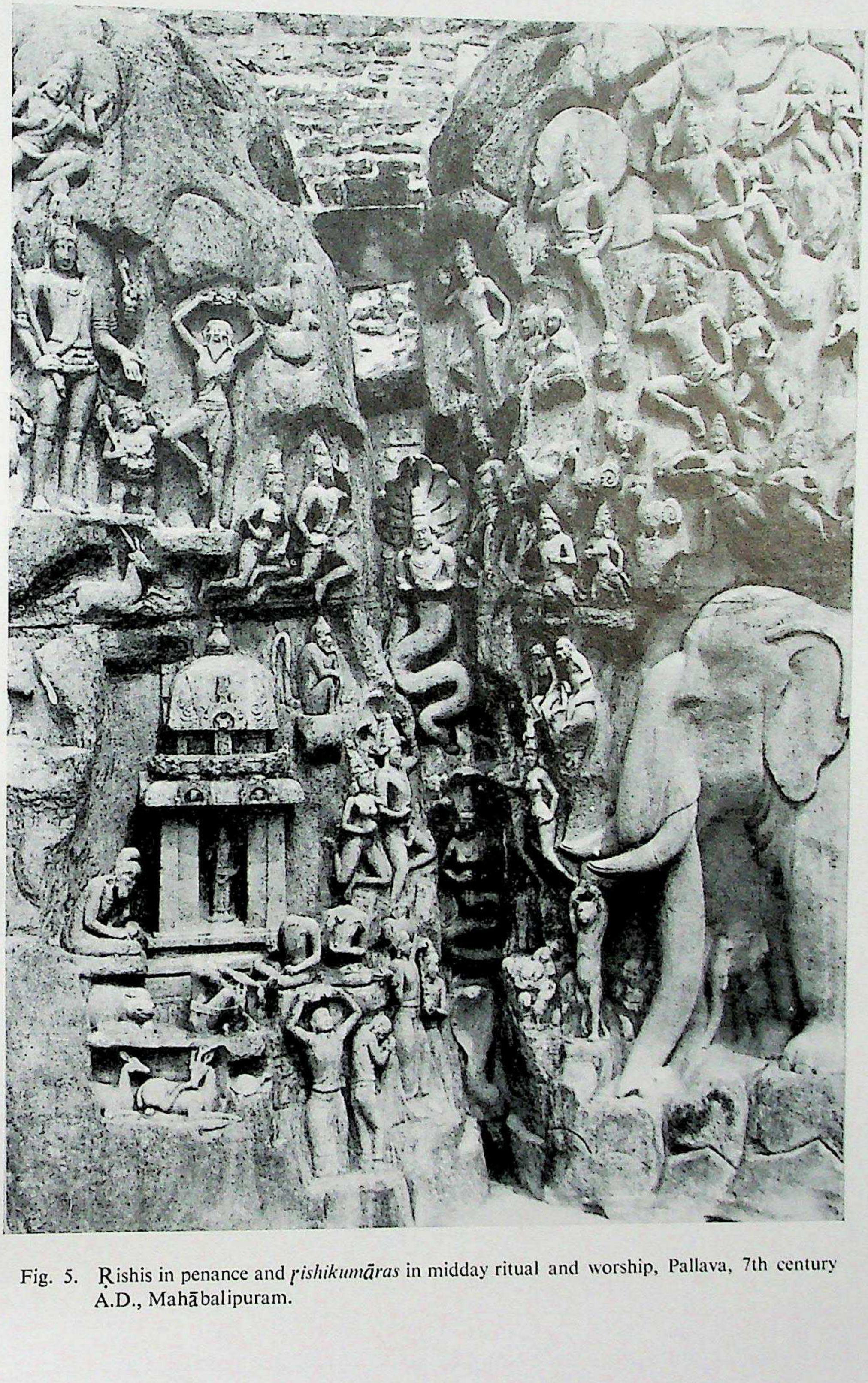


Fig. 5. Ṛishis in penance and *ṛishikumāras* in midday ritual and worship, Pallava, 7th century A.D., Mahābalipuram.

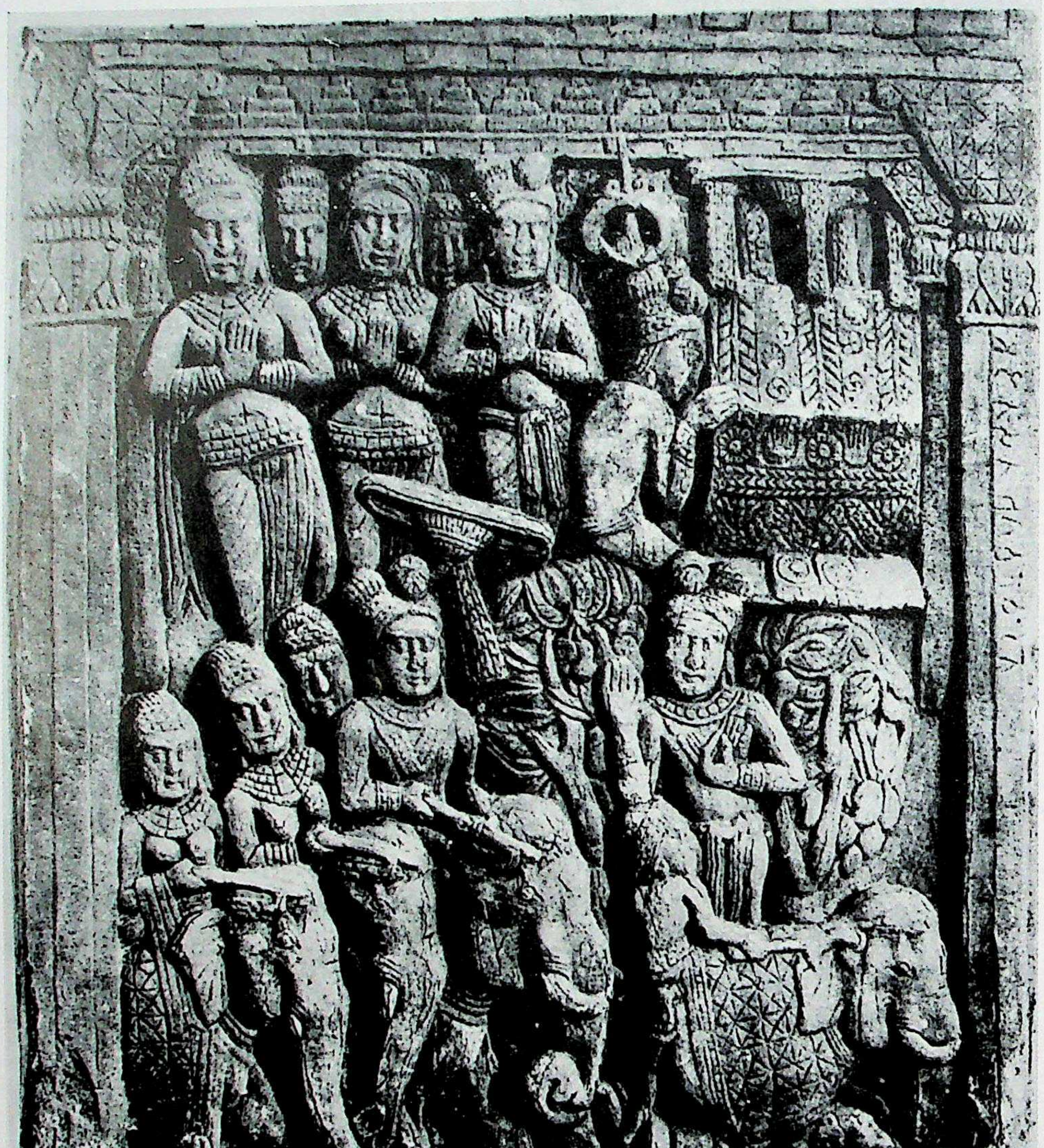


Fig. 6. Ajātaśatru visiting Buddha, Śuṅga, 2nd century B.C., Bhārhut, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

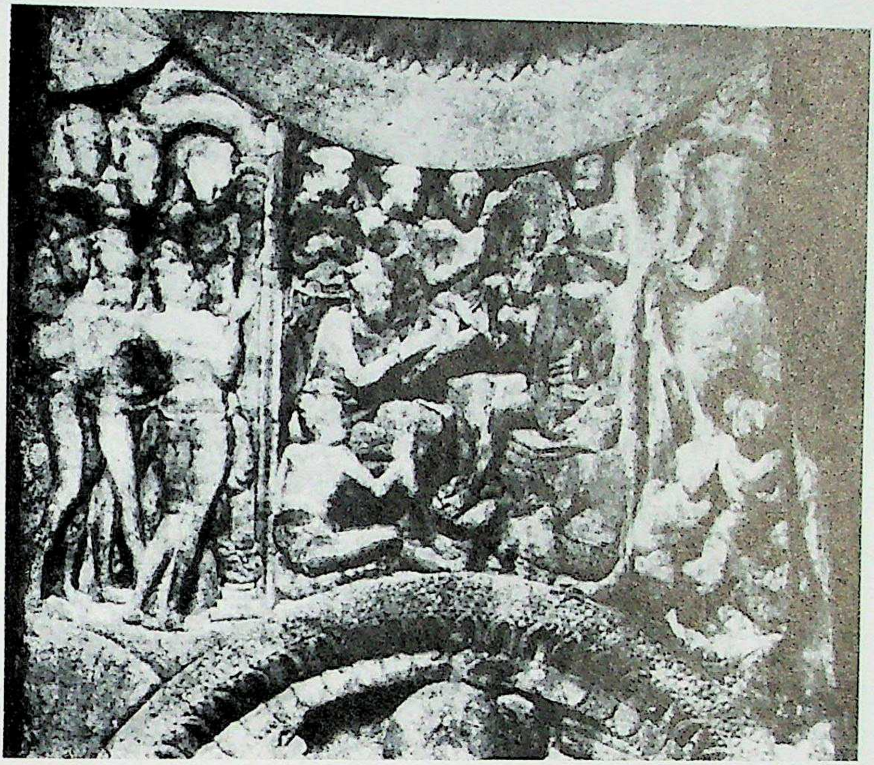


Fig. 7. Ajātaśatru advised by Jīvaka to visit Buddha, Sātavāhana, 2nd century A.D., Amarāvatī, Madras Museum.

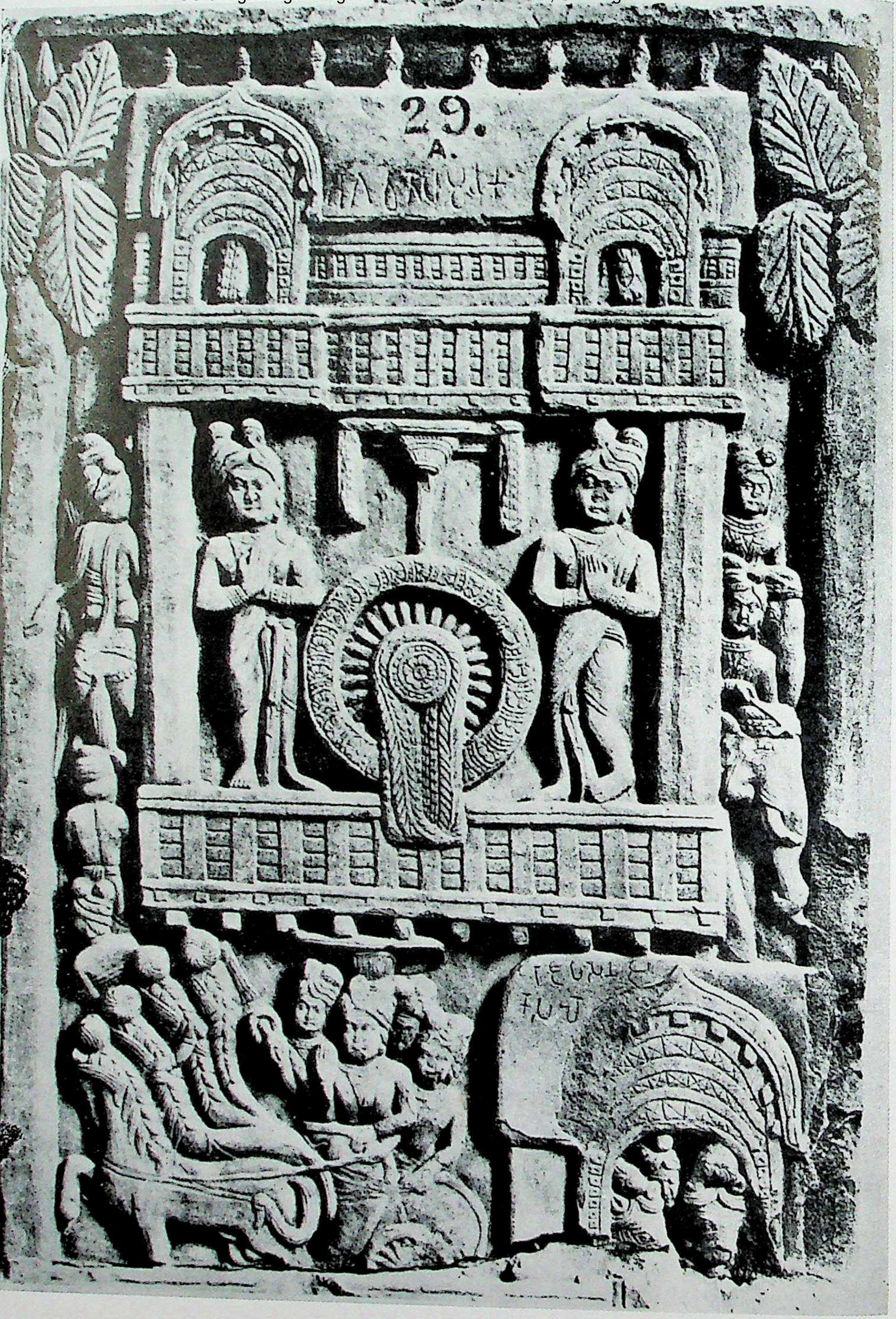


Fig. 8. Prasenajit visiting Buddha, Śuṅga, 2nd century B.C., Bhārhut, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

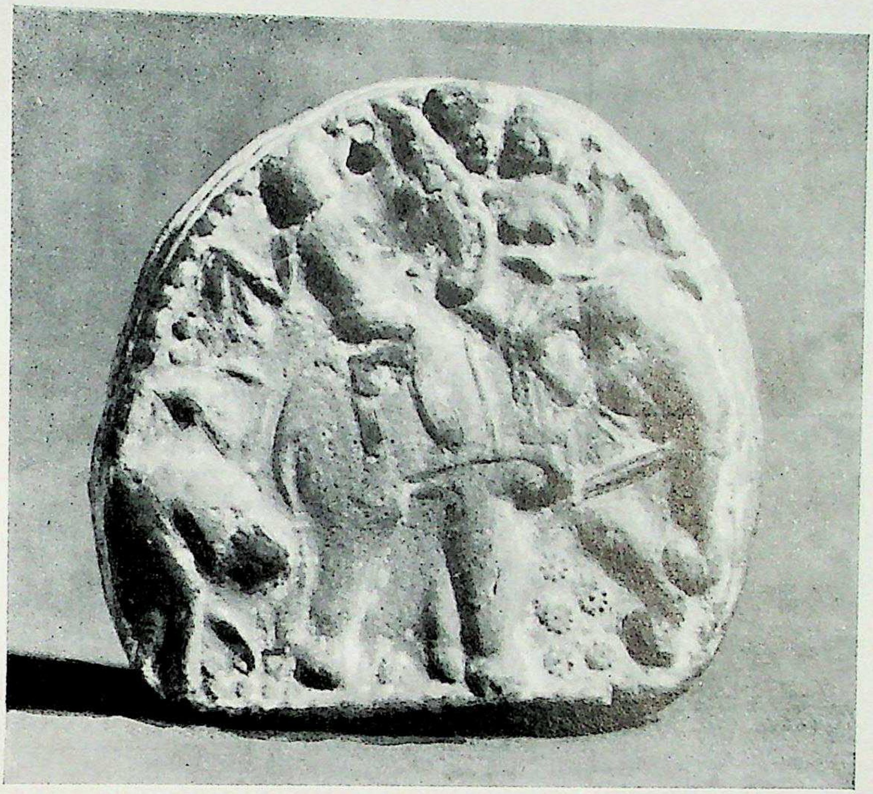


Fig. 9. Terracotta plaque of Udayana carrying away Vāsavadattā, Śuṅga, 2nd century B.C., Kauśāmbī, National Museum.

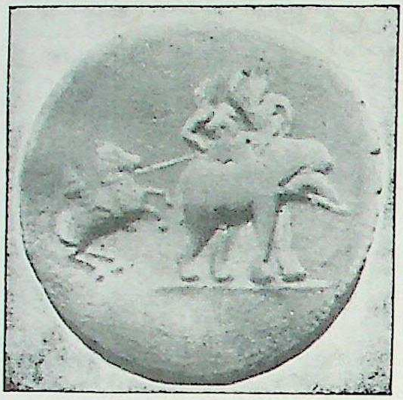


Fig. 11. Alexander fighting Porus portrayed on coin, 4th century B.C., Indian Museum, Calcutta.

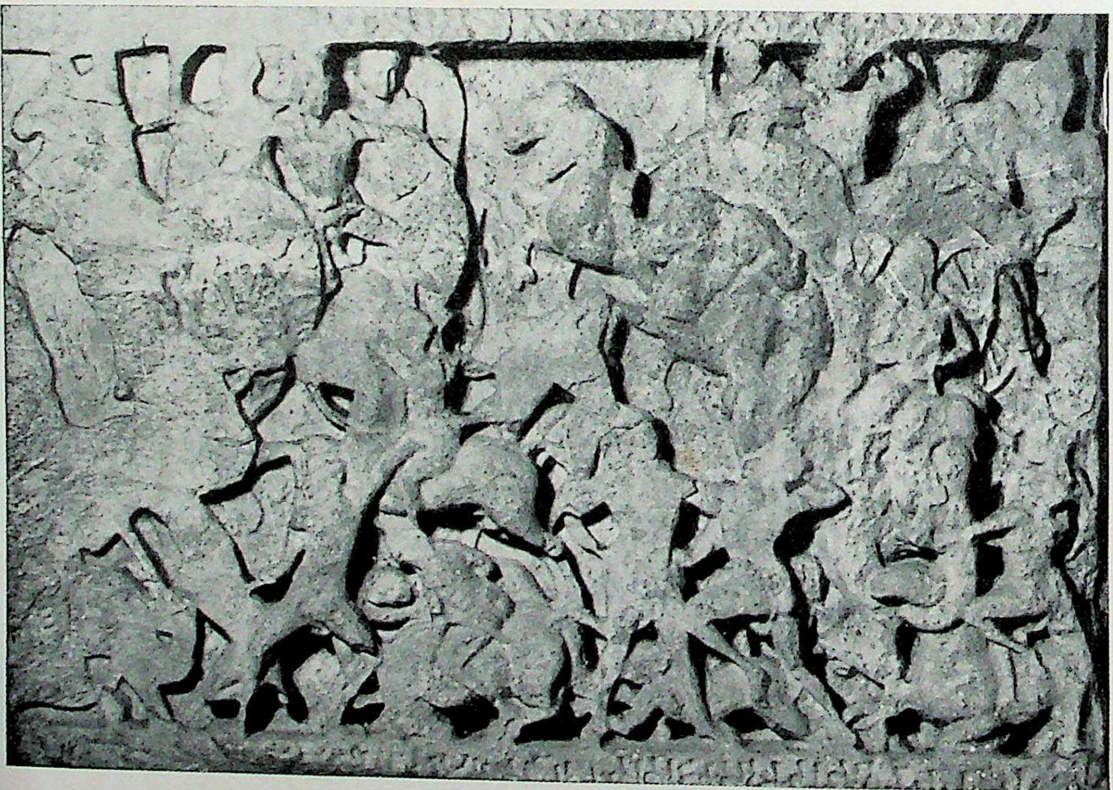


Fig. 10. *Dharmayuddha* or righteous warfare, Sātavāhana, 2nd century A.D., Amarāvatī, Madras Museum.

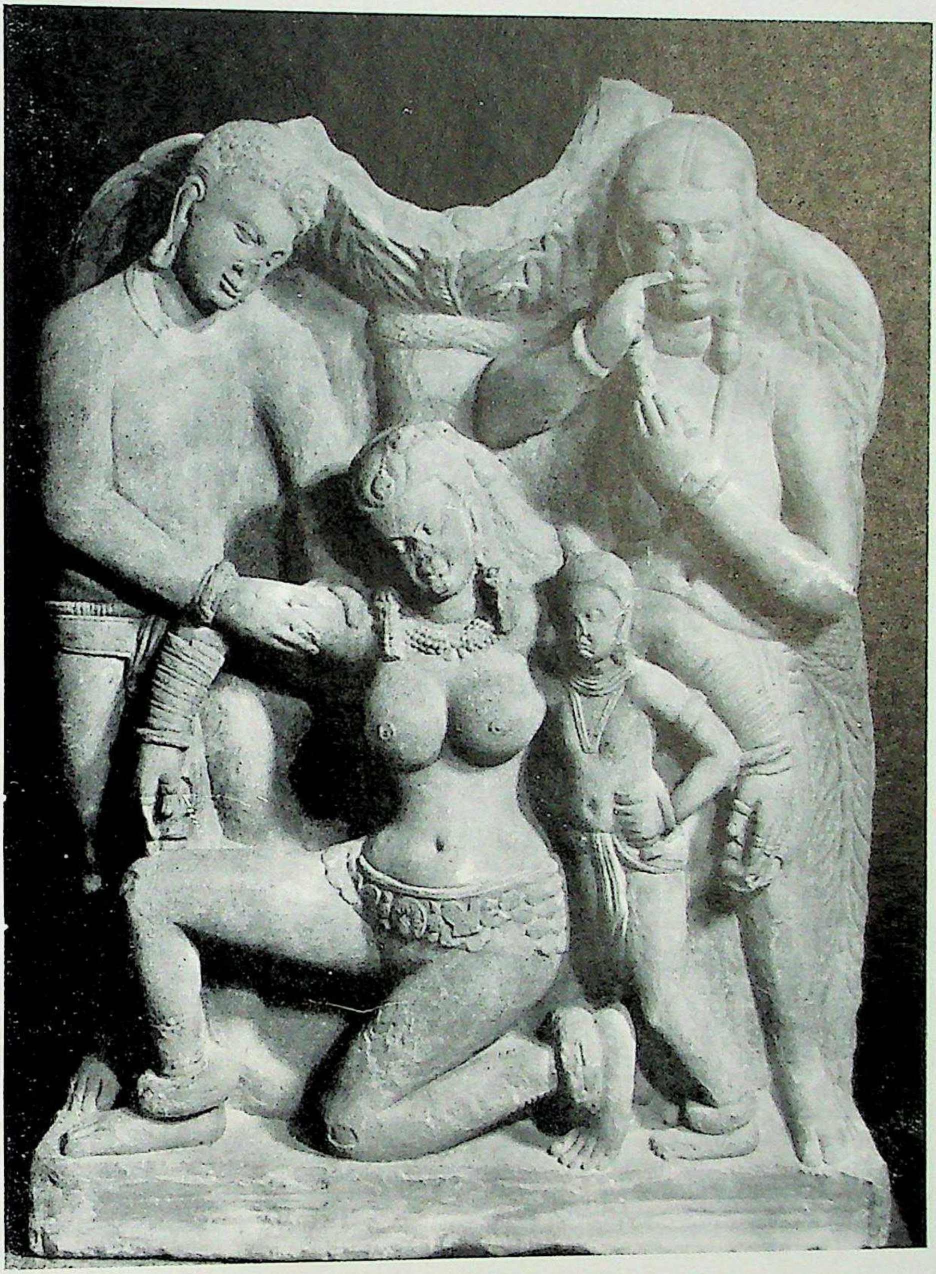


Fig. 12. *Veśavāsa* or a scene in the interior of a courtesan's mansion, Kushāṇa, 1st century A.D., Mathurā, National Museum.

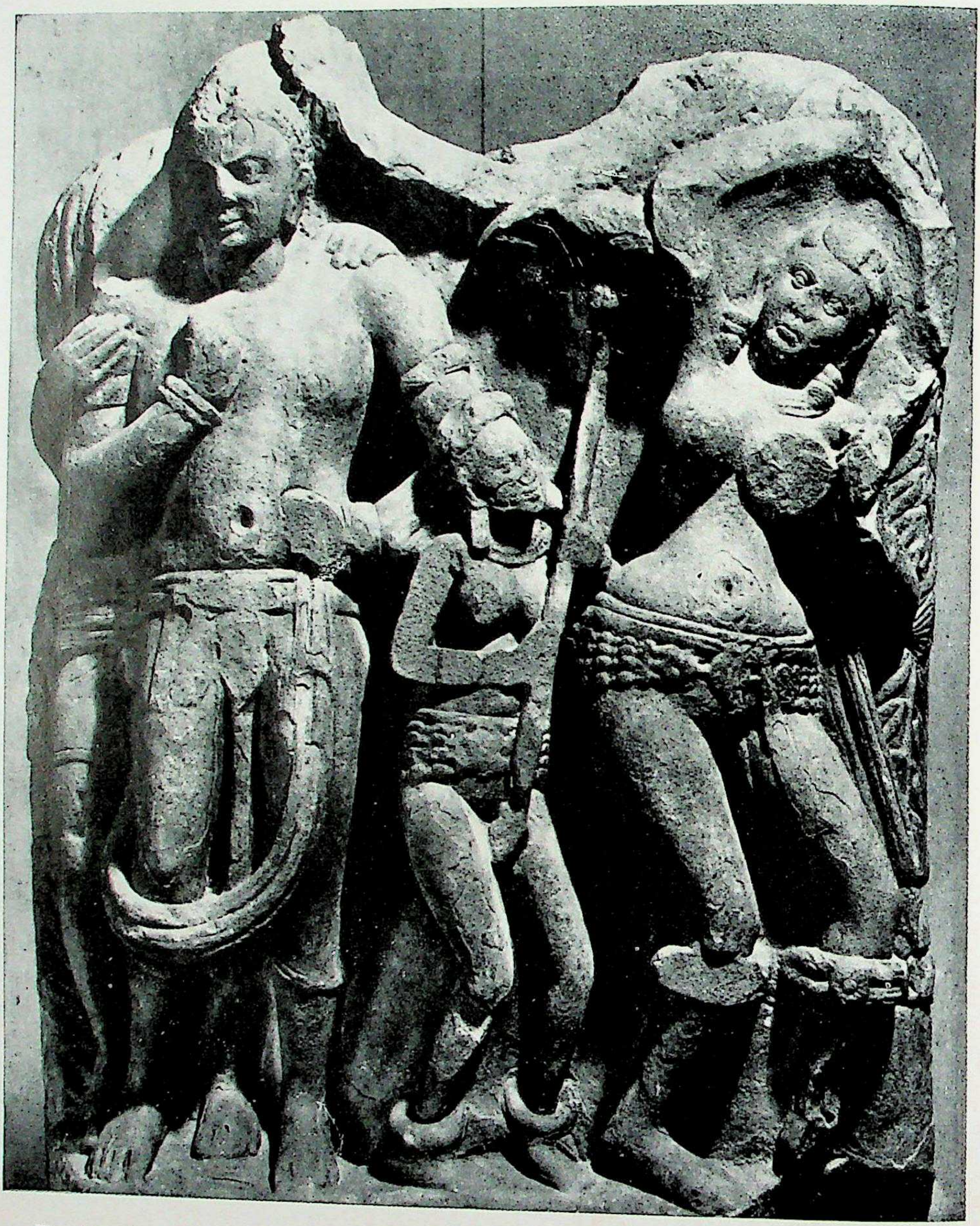


Fig. 13. Vasantasenā pursued by Śakāra and Viṭa, Kushāṇa, 1st century A.D., Mathurā, National Museum.

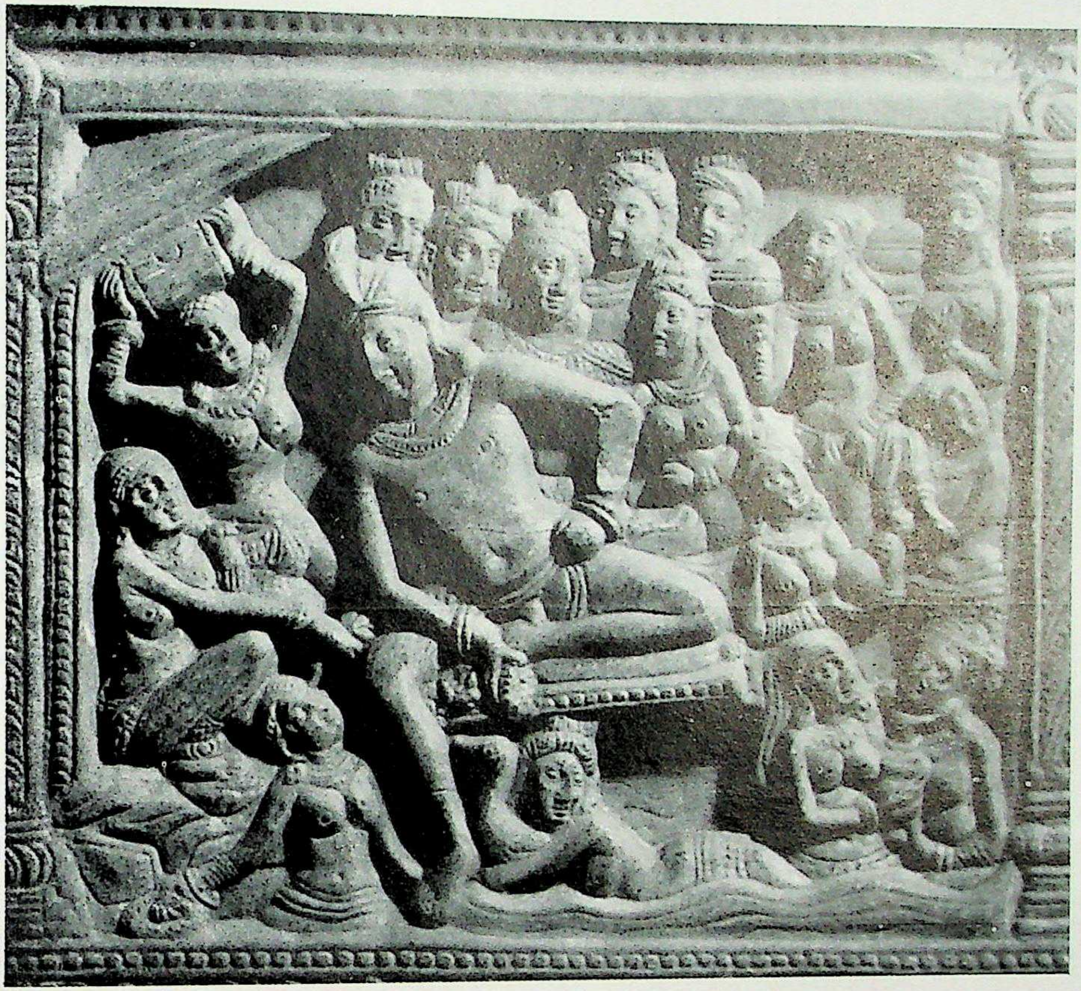


Fig. 14. Prince Siddhārtha amidst pleasures, Ikshvāku, 2nd century A.D., Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, National Museum.

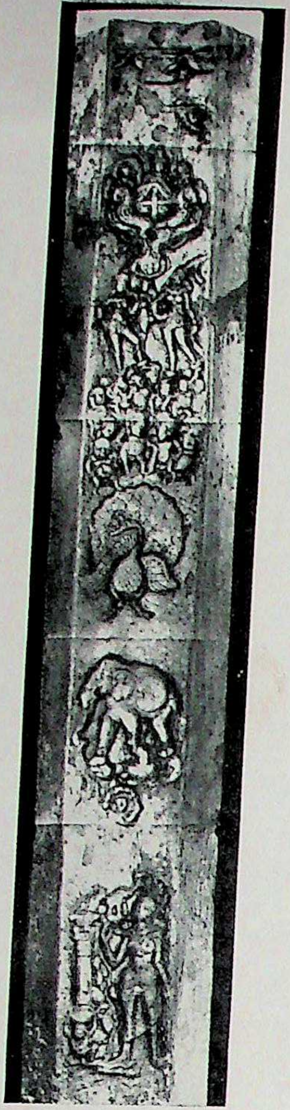
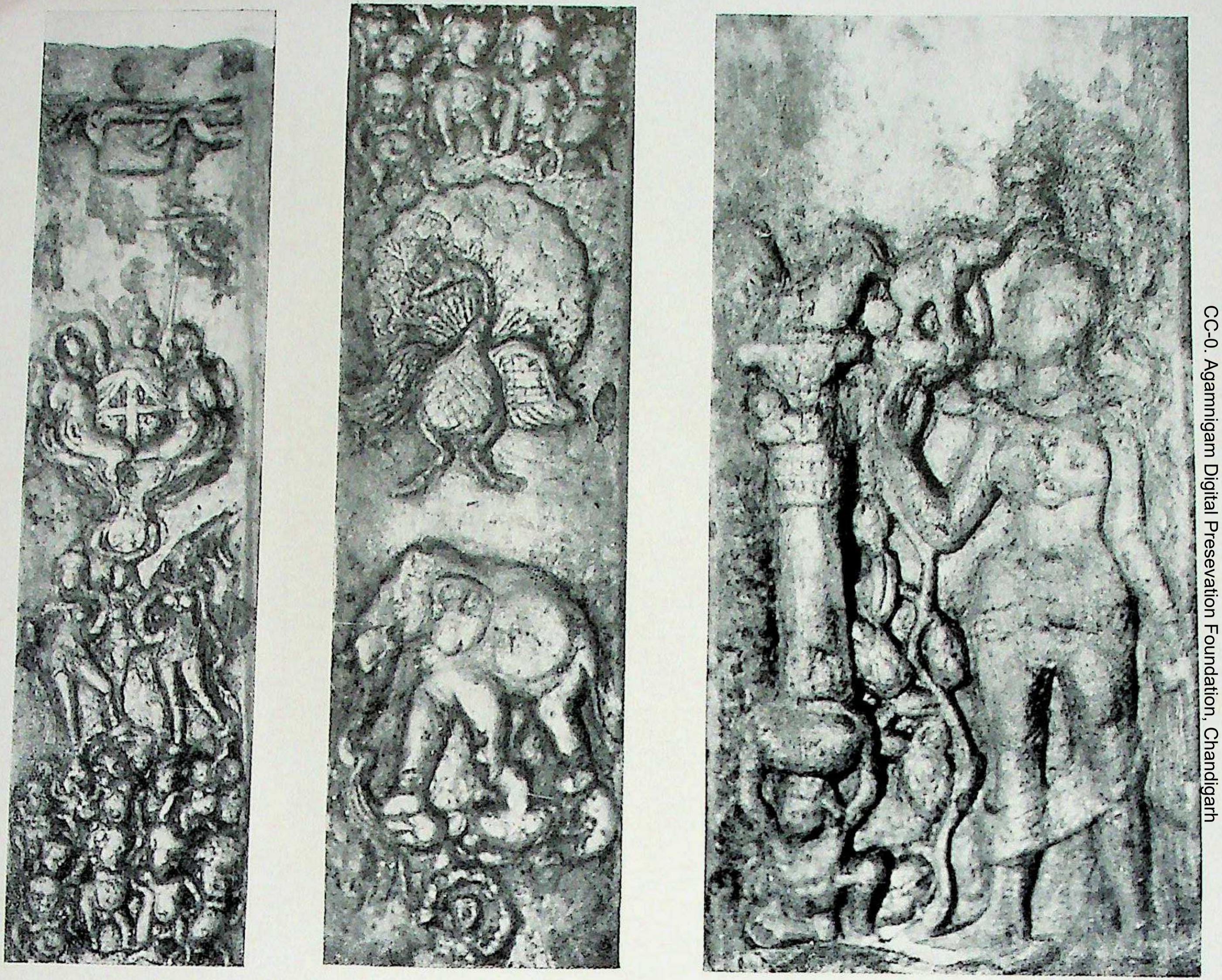


Fig. 15. Irony of fate illustrated on Lālā Bhagat pillar, Śuṅga, 1st century B.C., Lālā Bhagat, Uttar Pradesh.



(a) (b) (c)

Fig. 16. Close up of the panels on Lālā Bhagat pillar, a, announcement of dawn, Sūrya in chariot preceded by Vālakhilyas, b, dancing peacock suggestive of joy and elephant pulling out lotūses, c, Lakshmī bathed by elephants.

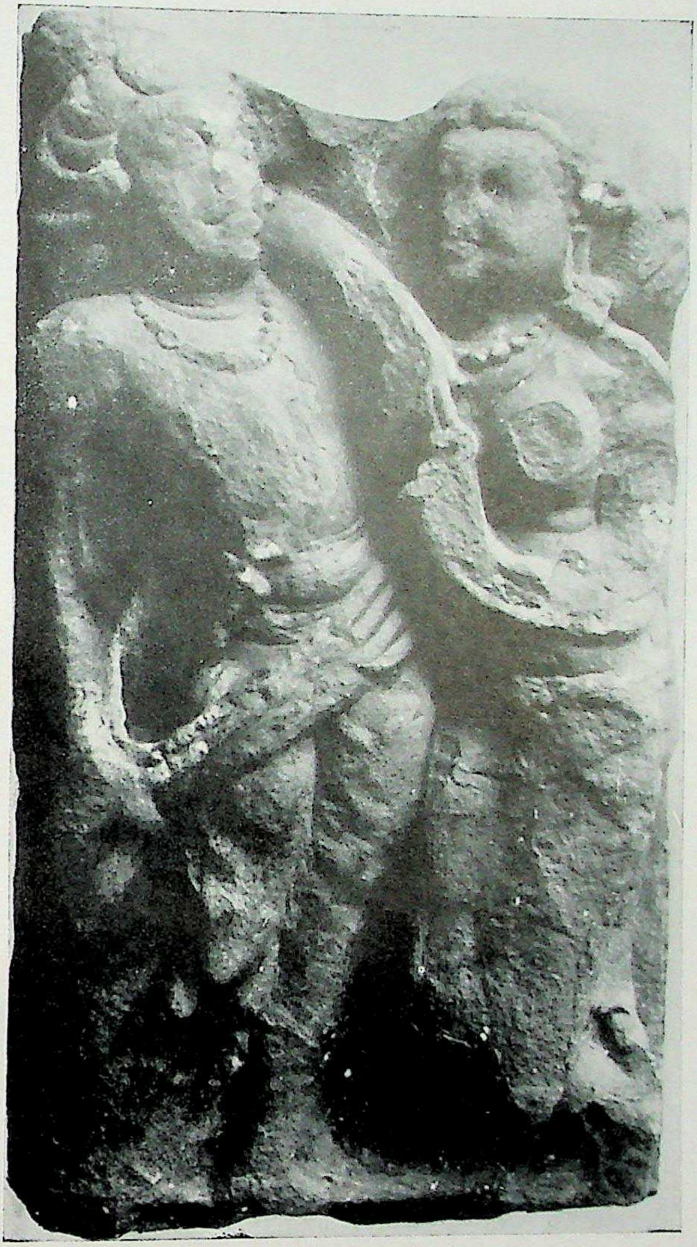


Fig. 17. Chandragupta and Kumāradevī, Gupta, 4th century A.D., Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras.

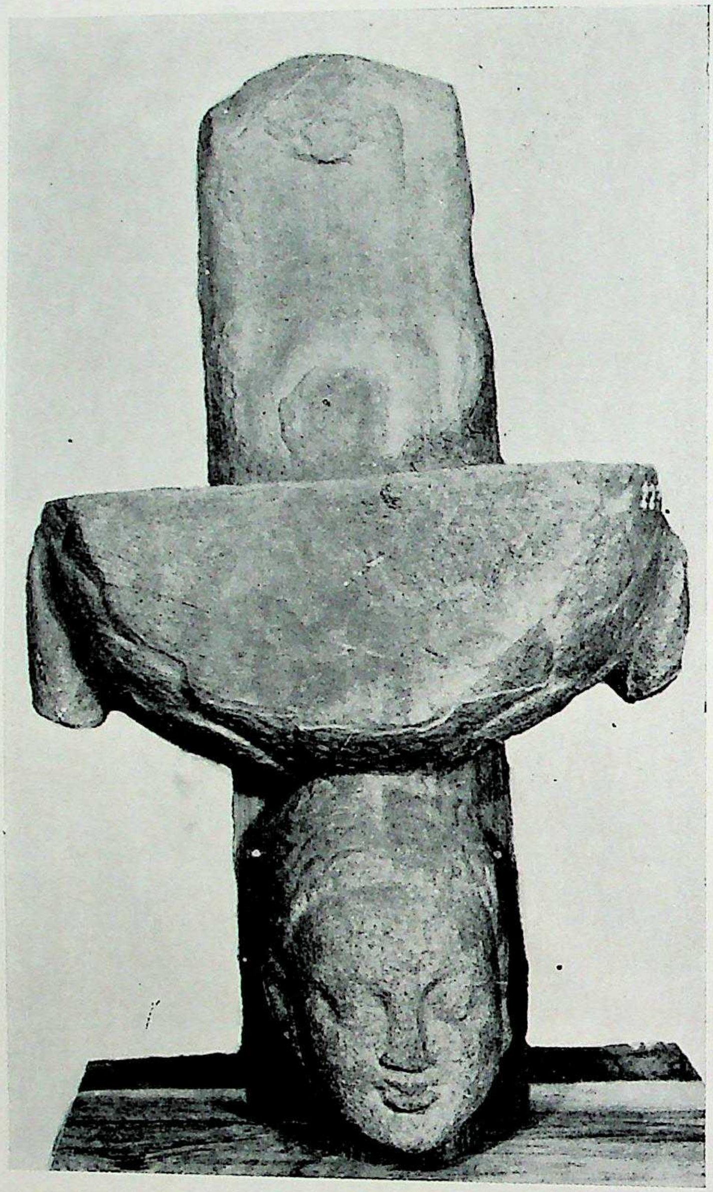


Fig. 18. Bhāraśiva, Vākāṭaka, 5th century A.D., Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras.

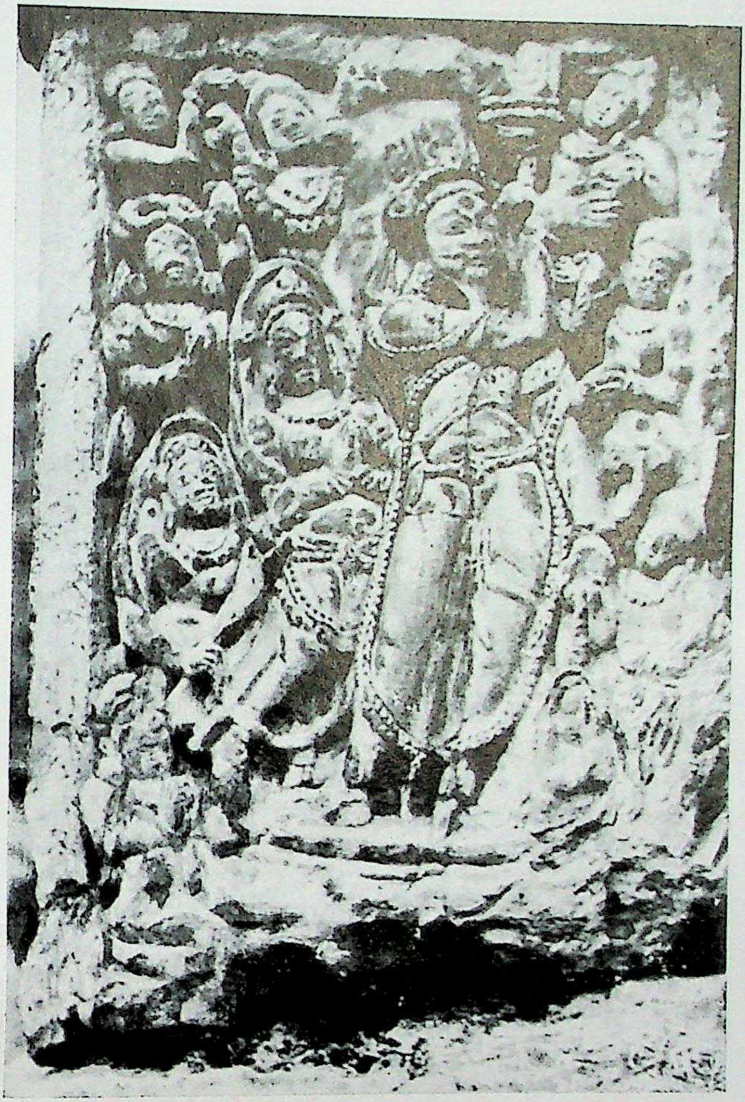


Fig. 19. Avantivarman and his queen with their retinue, Utpala, 9th century A.D., Avantisvāmi temple, Avantipur, Kashmir.

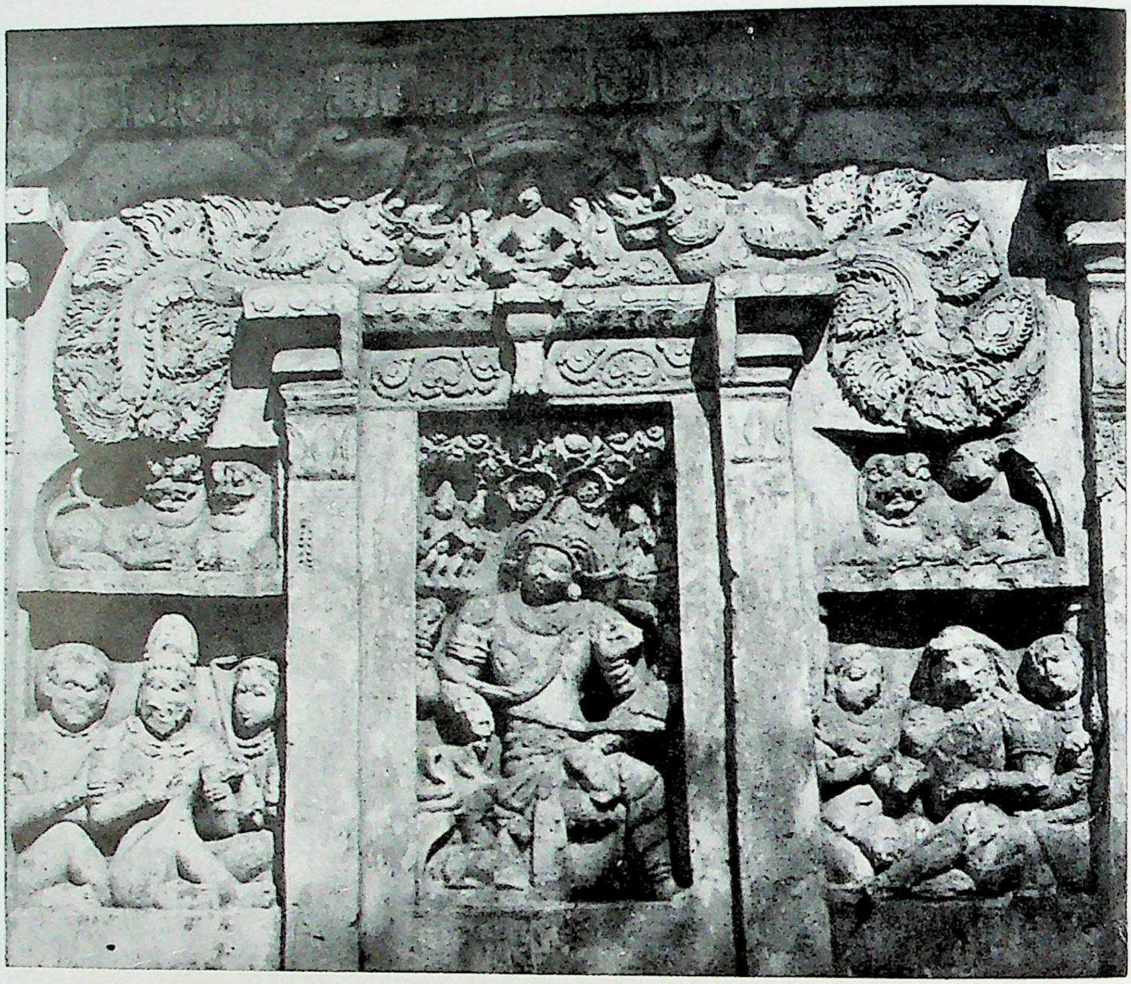
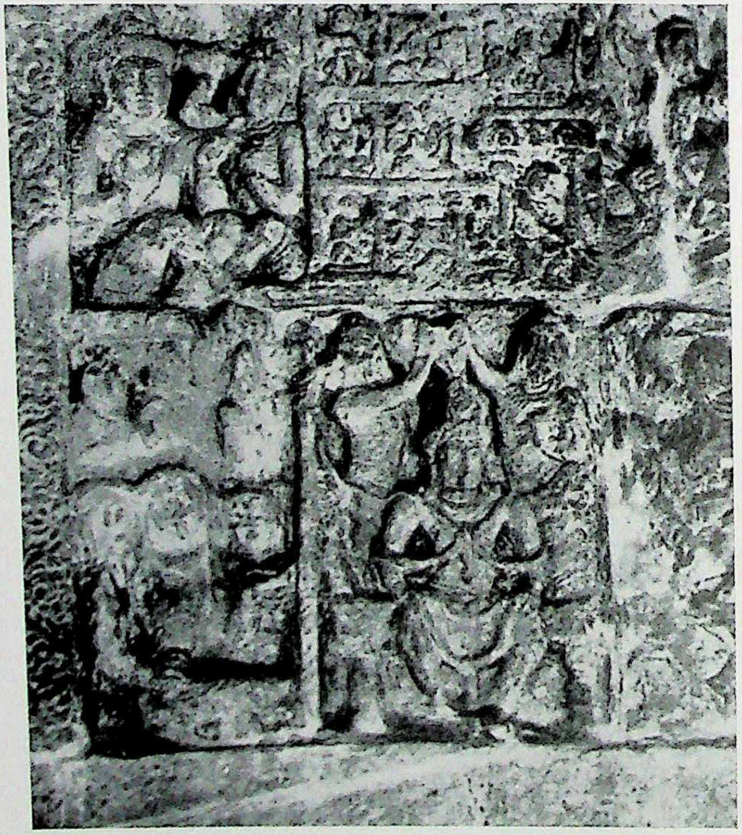


Fig. 20. Śaṅkara with Vyāsa flanking Dakshiṇāmūrti, Pallava, 8th century A.D., Iravaṇeśvara temple, Kāñchīpuram.



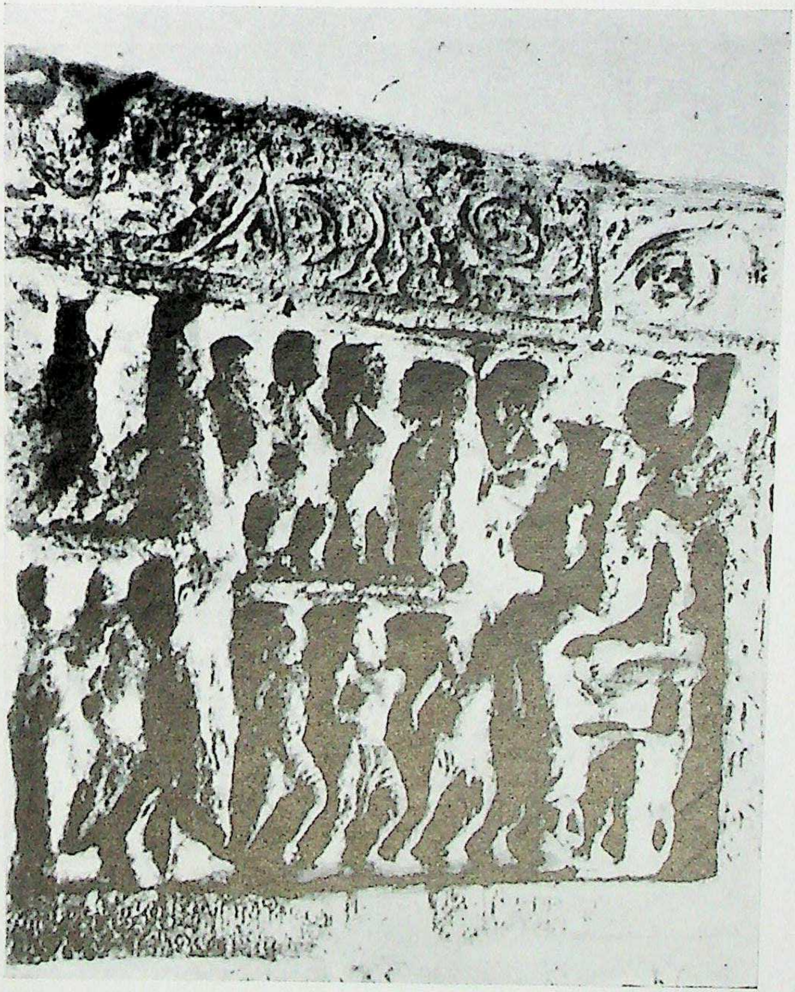


Fig. 21. Elders of the University of Kāñchī lead a delegation to Hiraṇyavarman, Pallava, 9th century A.D., Vaikuṇṭha Perumāl temple, Kāñchīpuram.

Fig. 22. Coronation of a Pallava king, Pallava, 9th century A.D., Vaikuṇṭhaperumāl temple, Kāñchīpuram.

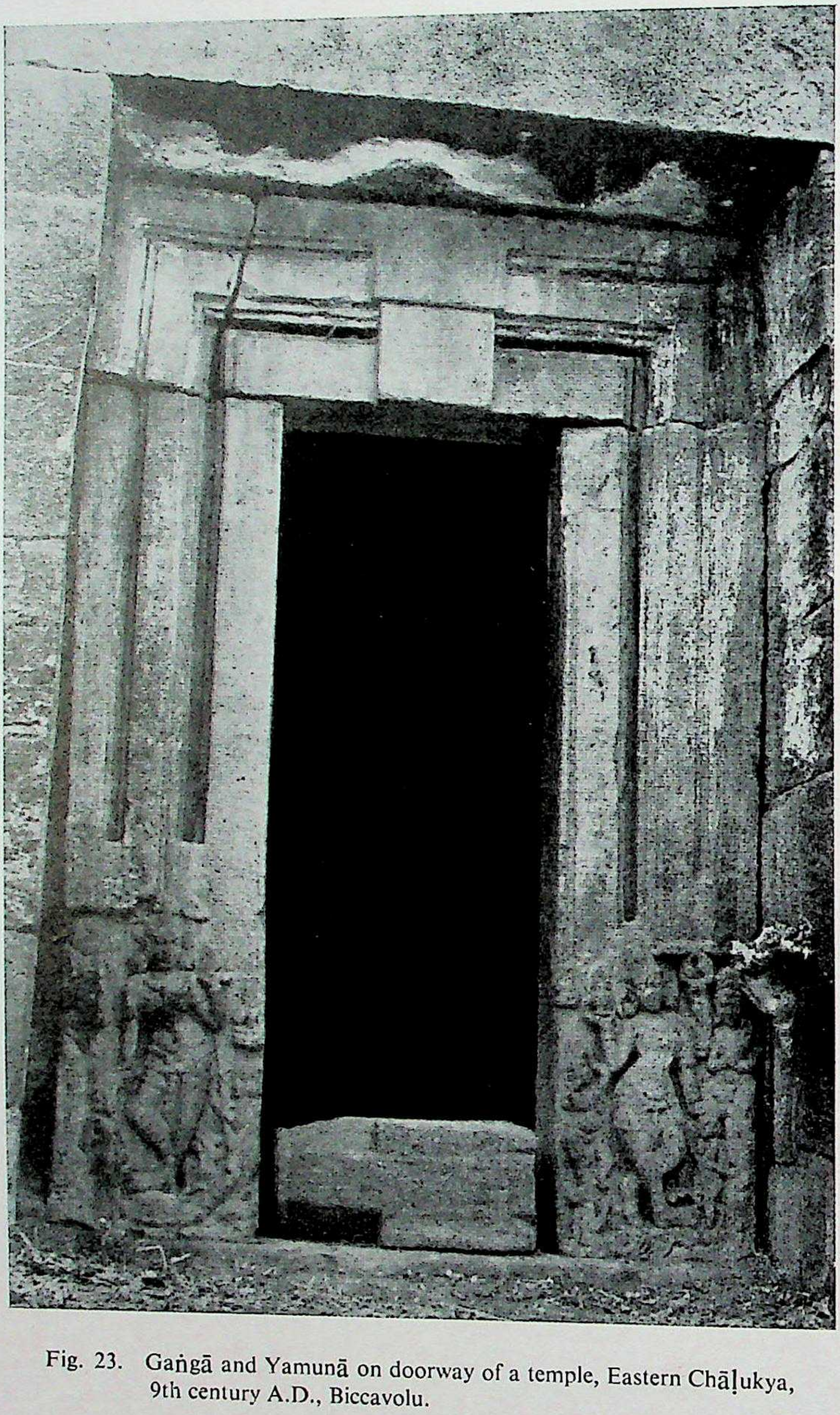


Fig. 23. Gaṅgā and Yamunā on doorway of a temple, Eastern Chāḷukya, 9th century A.D., Biccavolu.

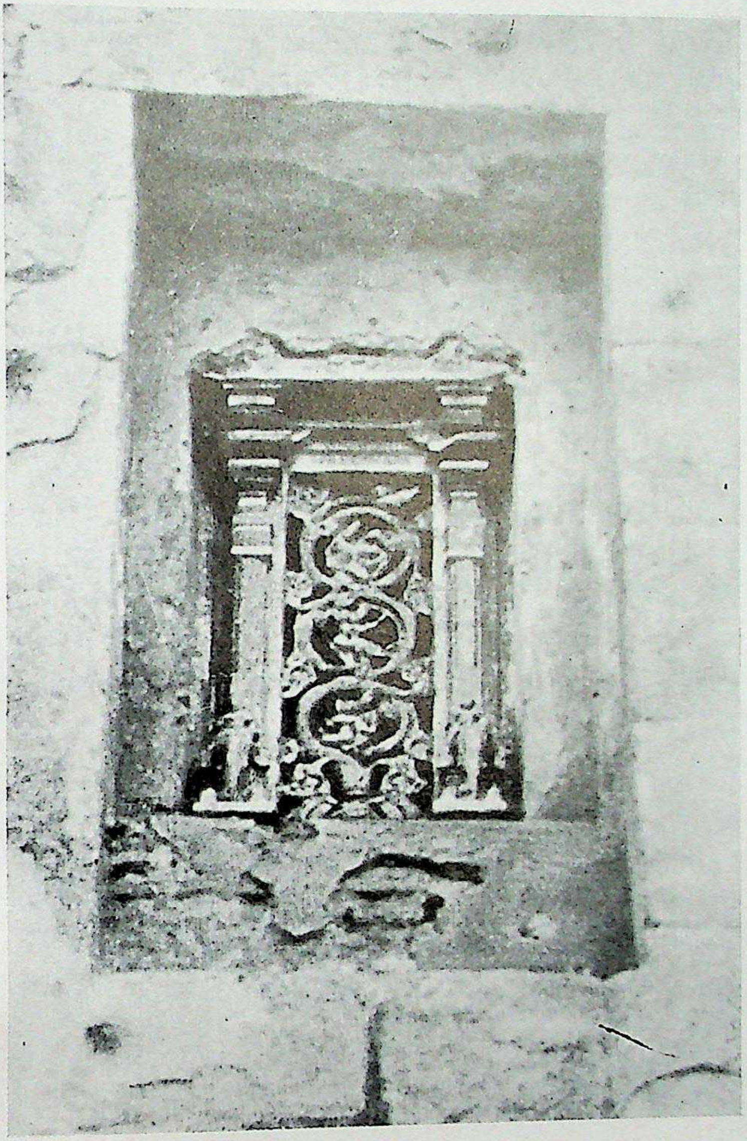


Fig. 24. Noḷamba pierced window fixed in *maṇḍapa* of Rājarājeśvara temple, Choḷa, 11th century A.D., Tañjāvur.

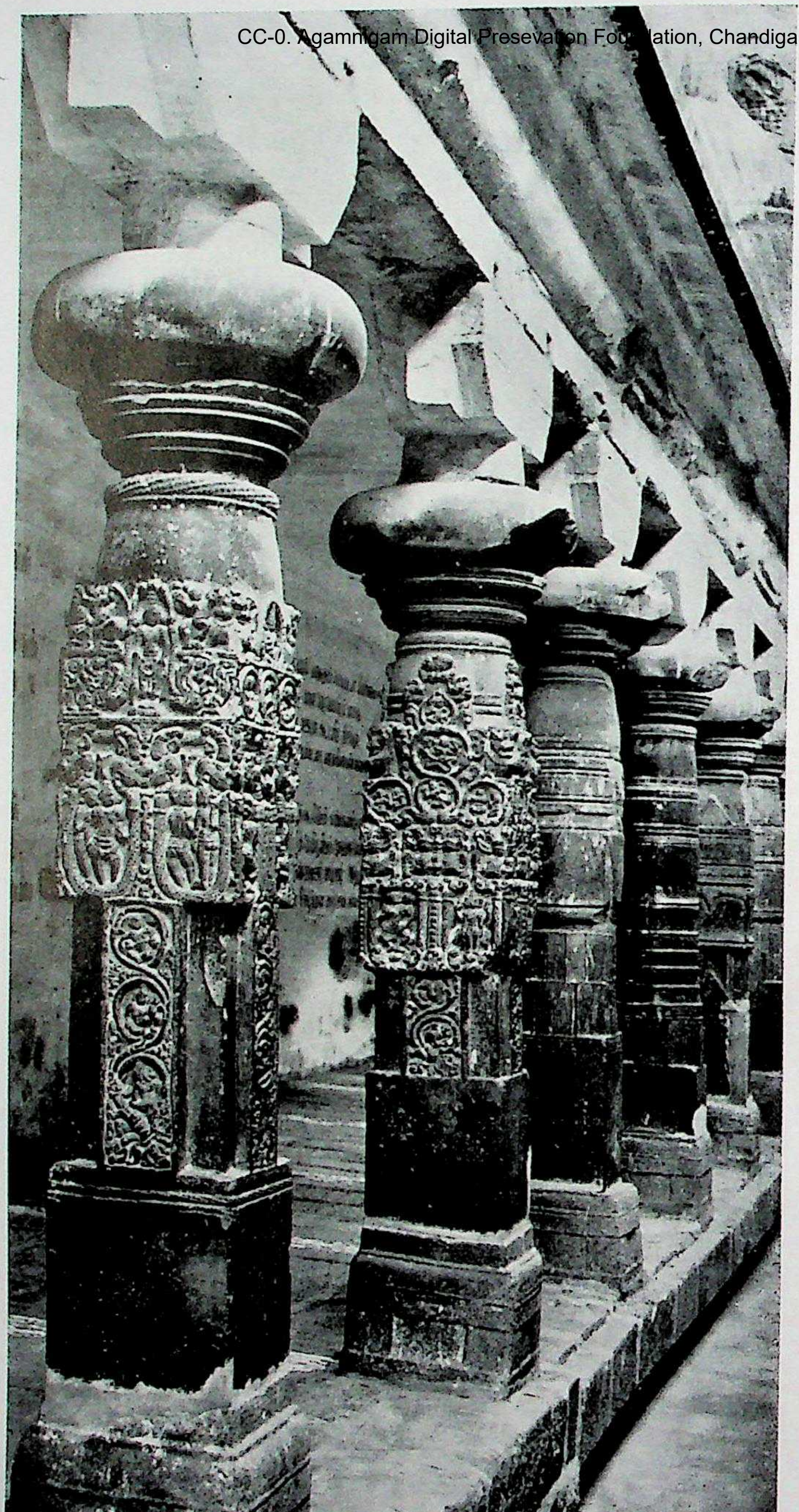


Fig. 25. Noḷamba pillars adorning the *maṇḍapa* of Apparswāmi shrine, Choḷa, 11th century A.D., Tiruvayyyāru.

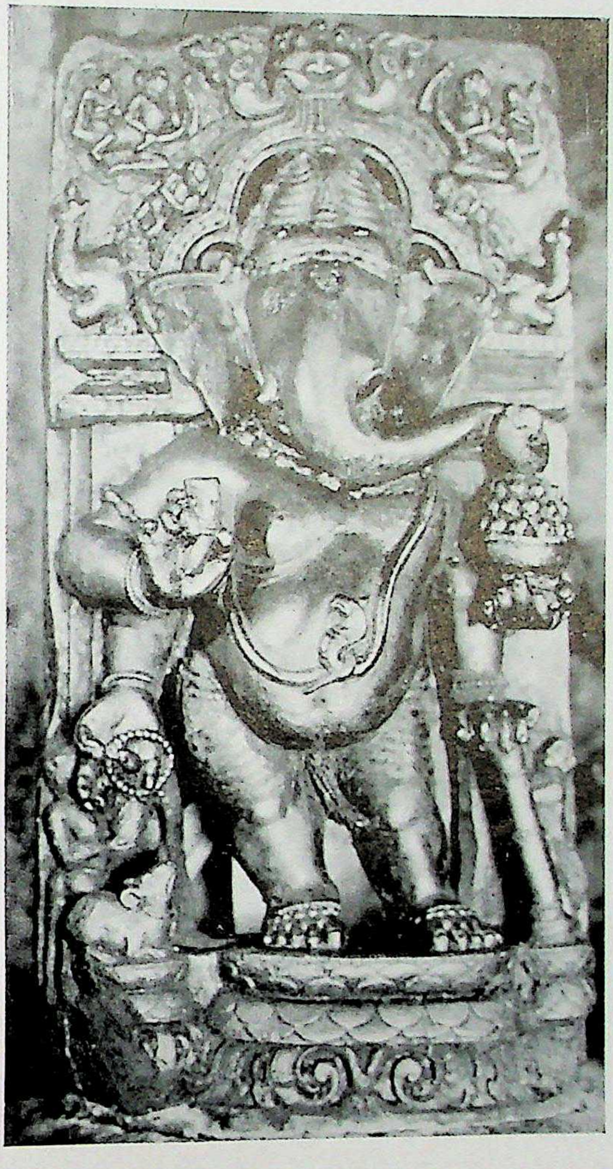


Fig. 26. Ganeśa, Eastern Gaṅga, 10th century A.D. in Nageśvarasvāmi temple, Kumbakoṇam.

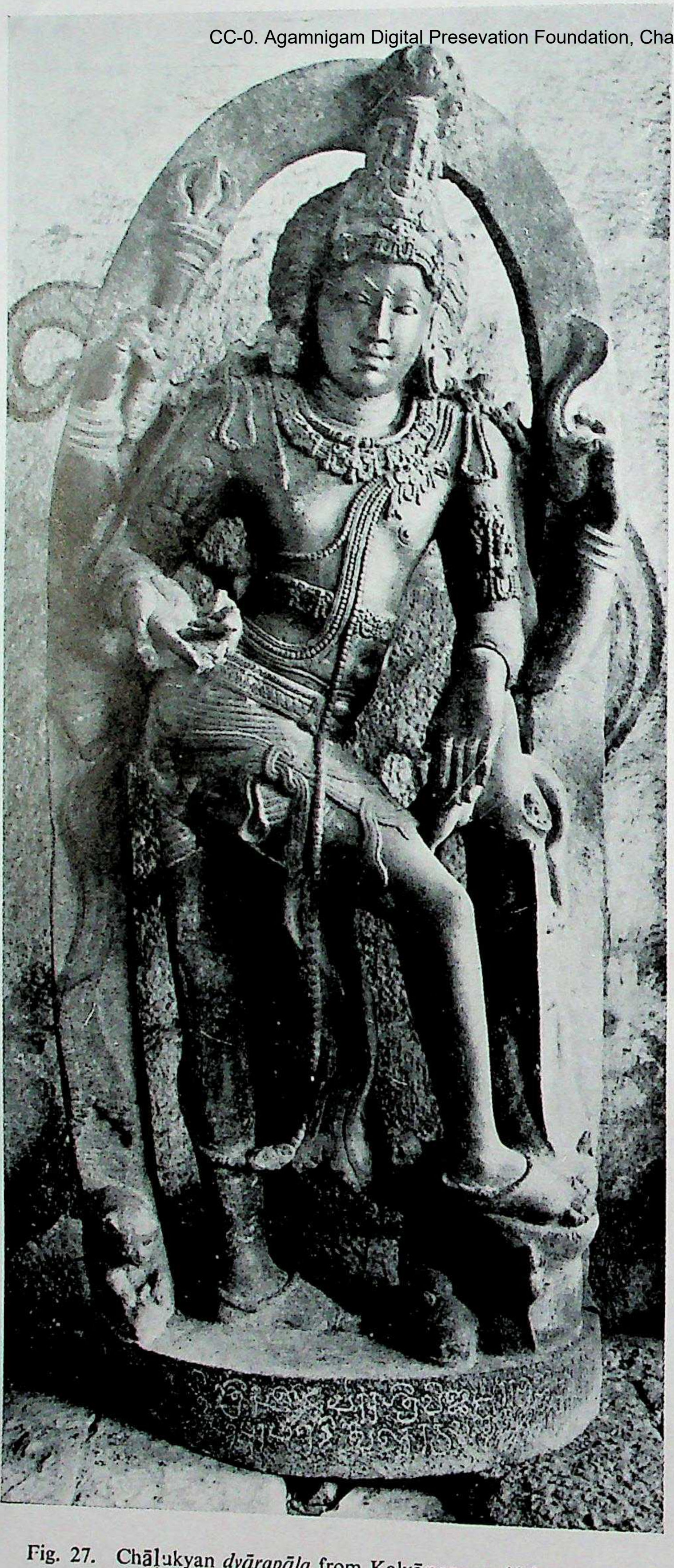


Fig. 27. Chāḷukyan *dvārapāla* from Kalyāṇapura, 10th century A.D., Tañjāvur Art Gallery.

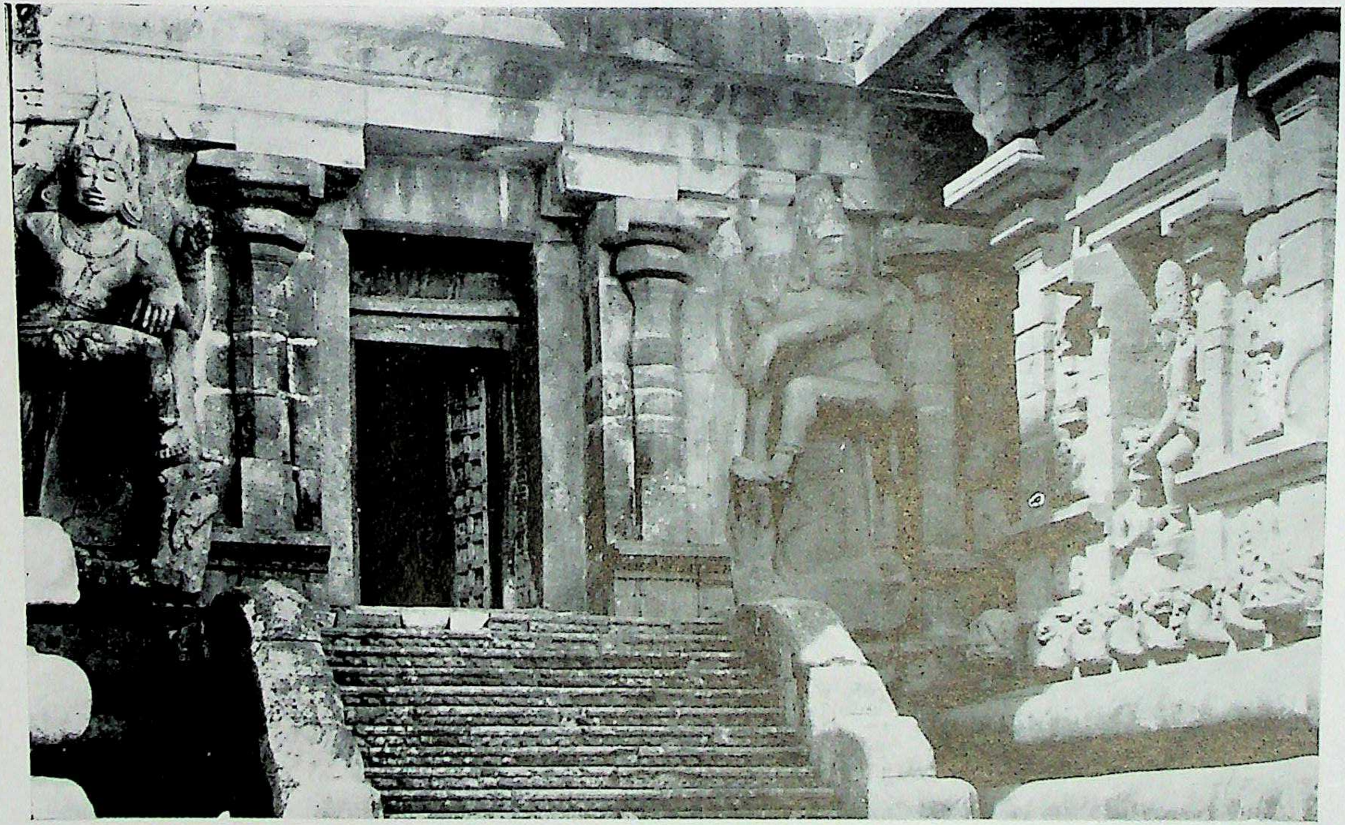


Fig. 28. *Dvarapāla* from Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholeśvara temple, Choḷa, 11th century A.D. Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram.

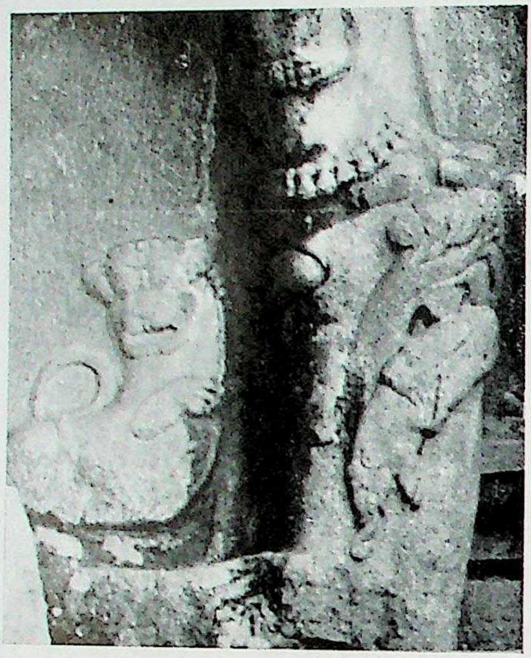


Fig. 29. Detail of carving on the club of the *dvārapāla*.

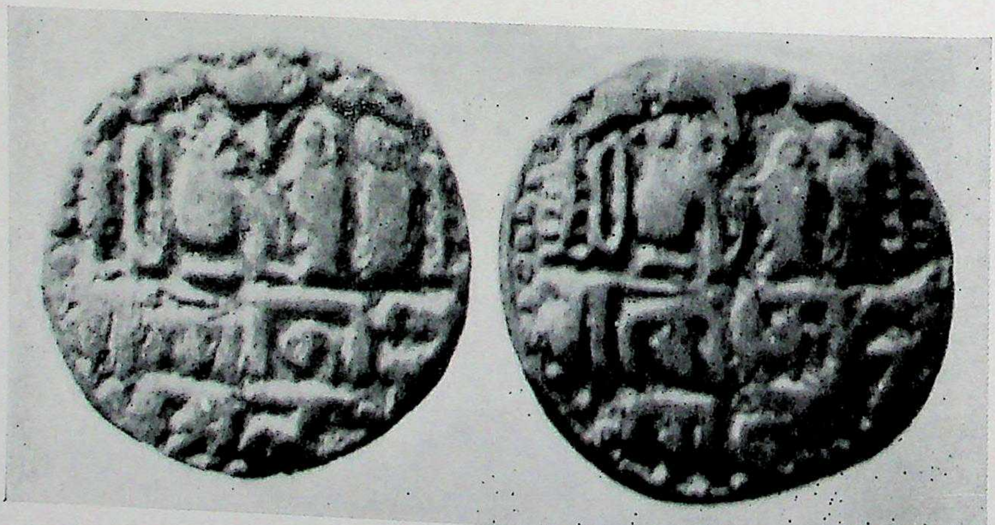


Fig. 32. Gaṅgaikoṇḍachoḷa coin, Choḷa, 11th century A.D., National Museum.

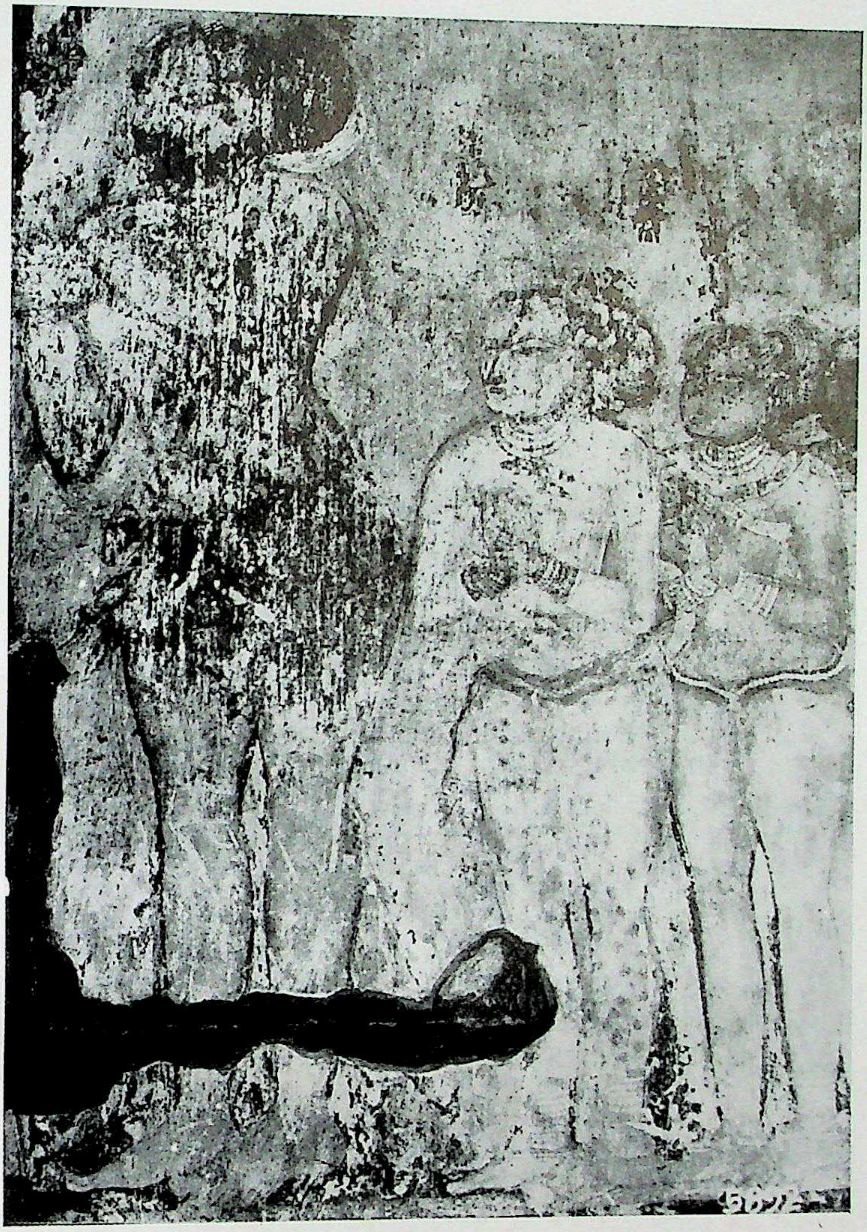


Fig. 31. Rājarāja and queens, Choḷa painting, 11th century A.D., Rājarājeśvara temple, Tañjāvur.

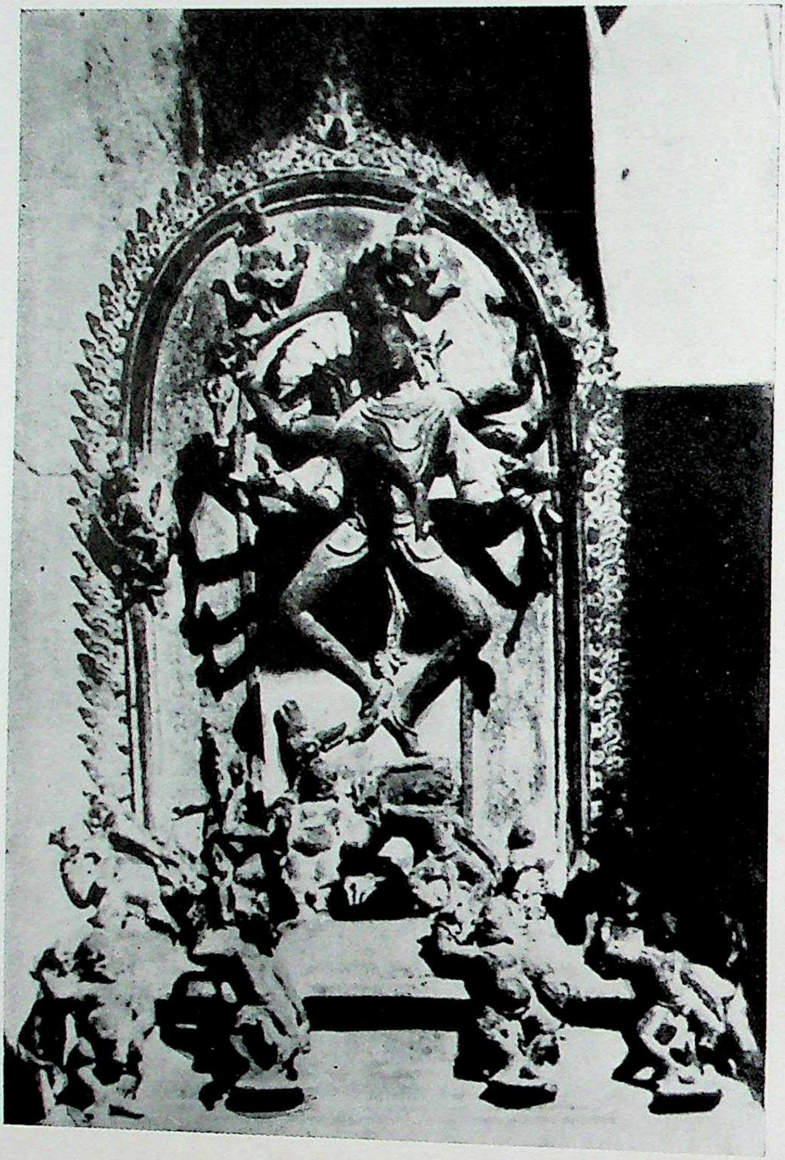


Fig. 33. Narteśvara from Bengal brought by Rājendra Choḷa, Pāla, 10th century A.D., Melakkaḍambur.

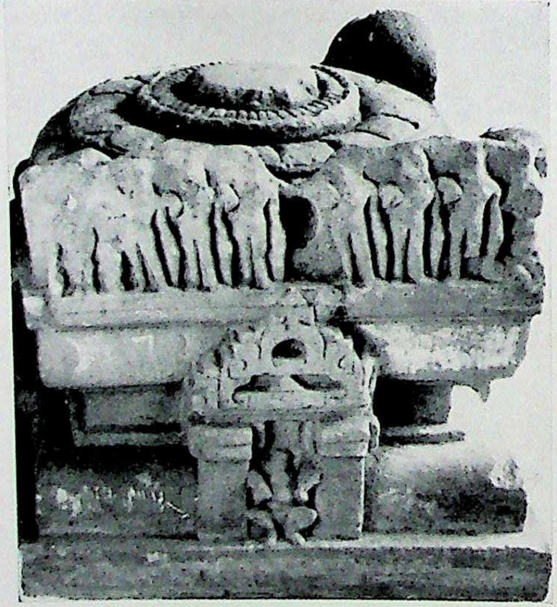
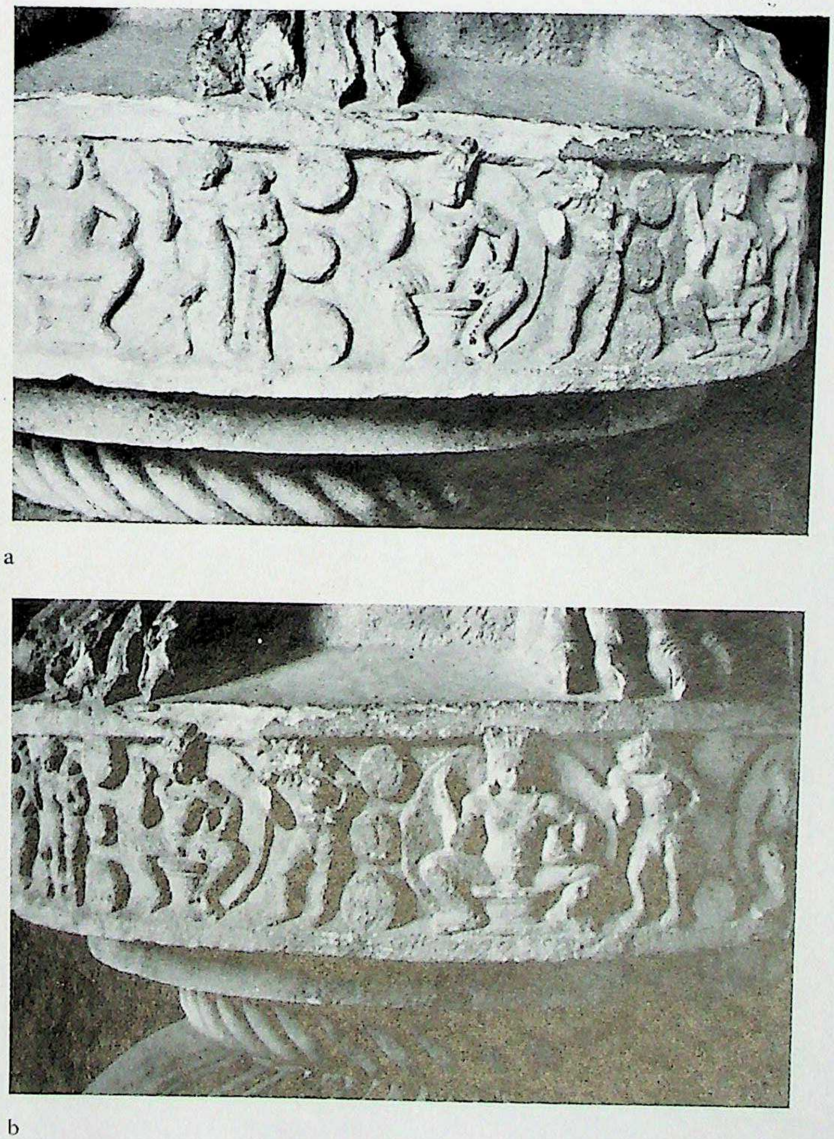


Fig. 34. Sūrya and other *grahas* in a row, Gurjara Pratīhāra, 9th century A.D., Gwalior Museum.



a

b

Fig. 35. Sūrya, *grahas* and *rāśis*, Gupta, 5th century A.D., Gwalior Museum a, the *rāśis mithuna* and *karkaṭaka* personified, b, the *rāśis karkaṭaka* and *siṁha* personified.

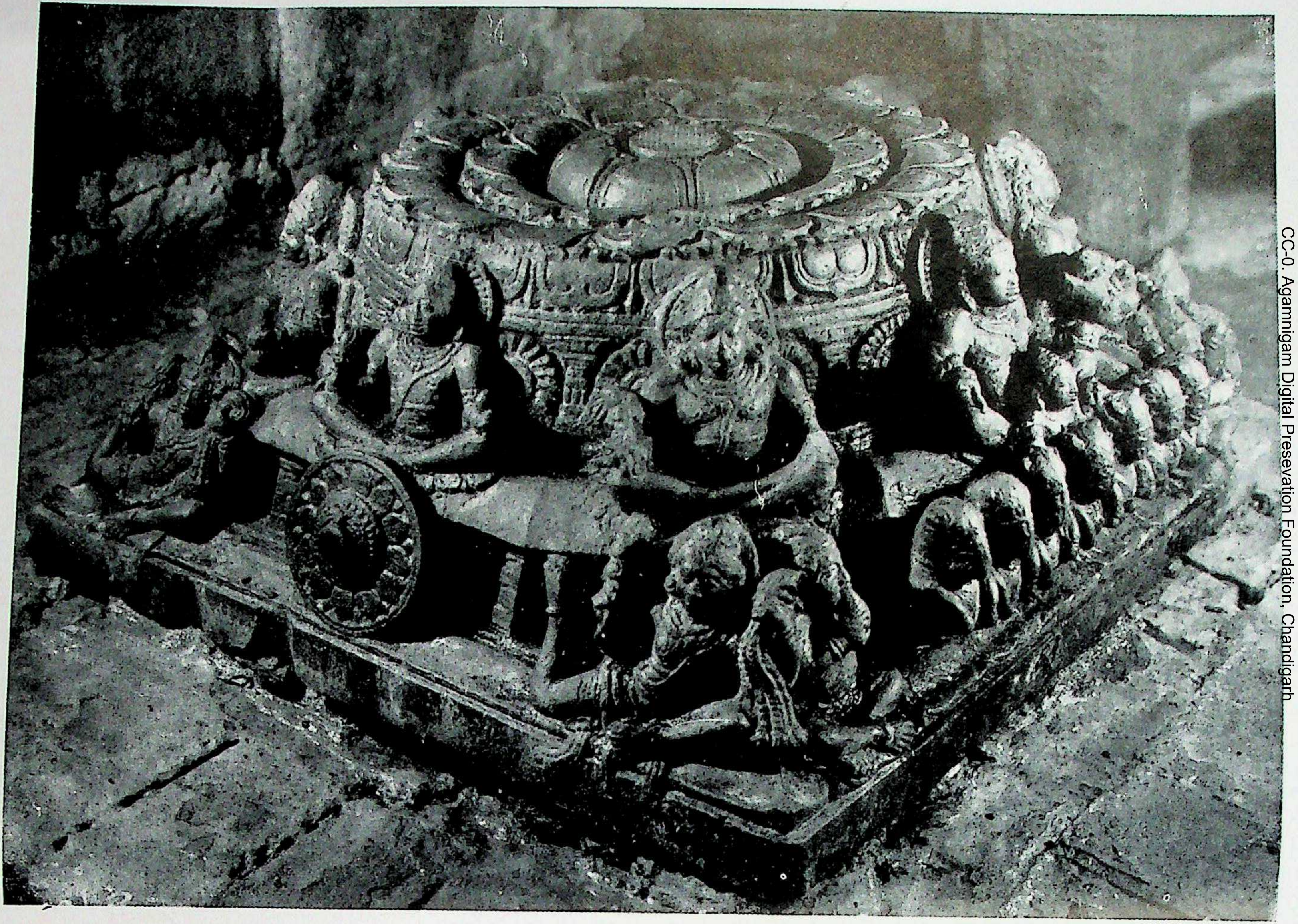


Fig. 36. *Navagraha* slab, Choḷa, 11th century A.D., Gaṅgaikoṇḍachoḷapuram.

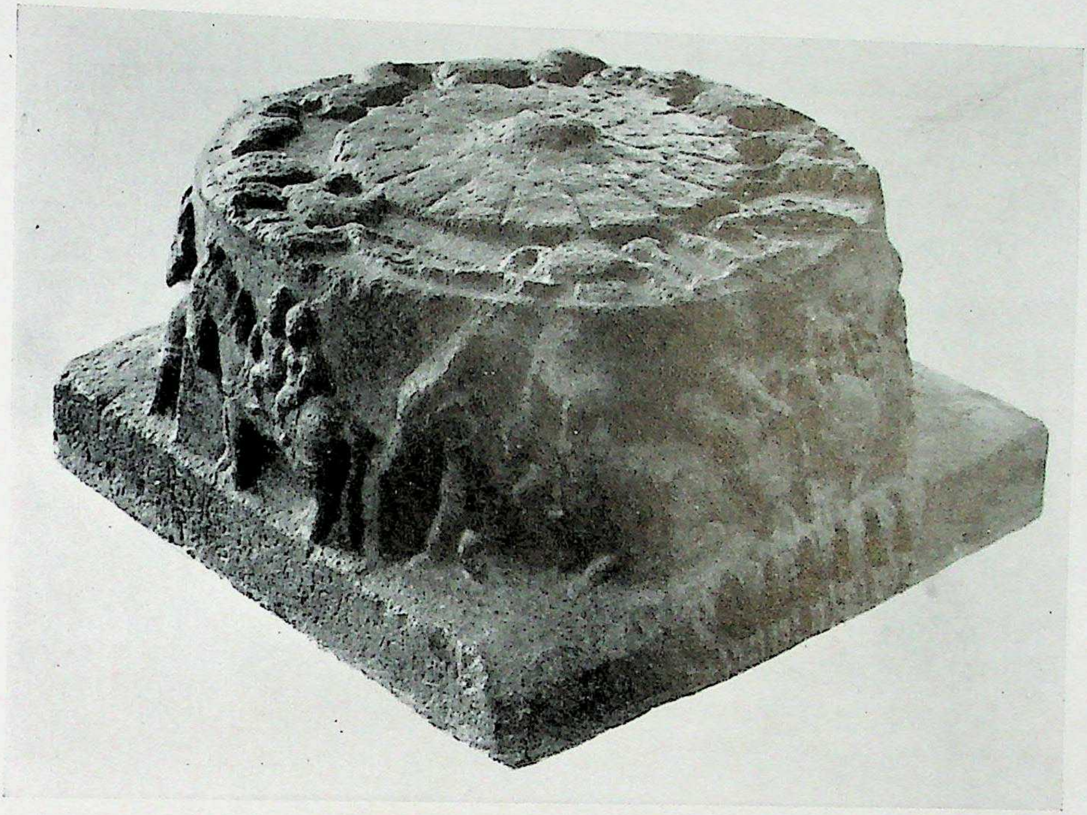


Fig. 37. *Navagraha* slab, Kākatīya, 13th century A.D., Hyderabad Museum.

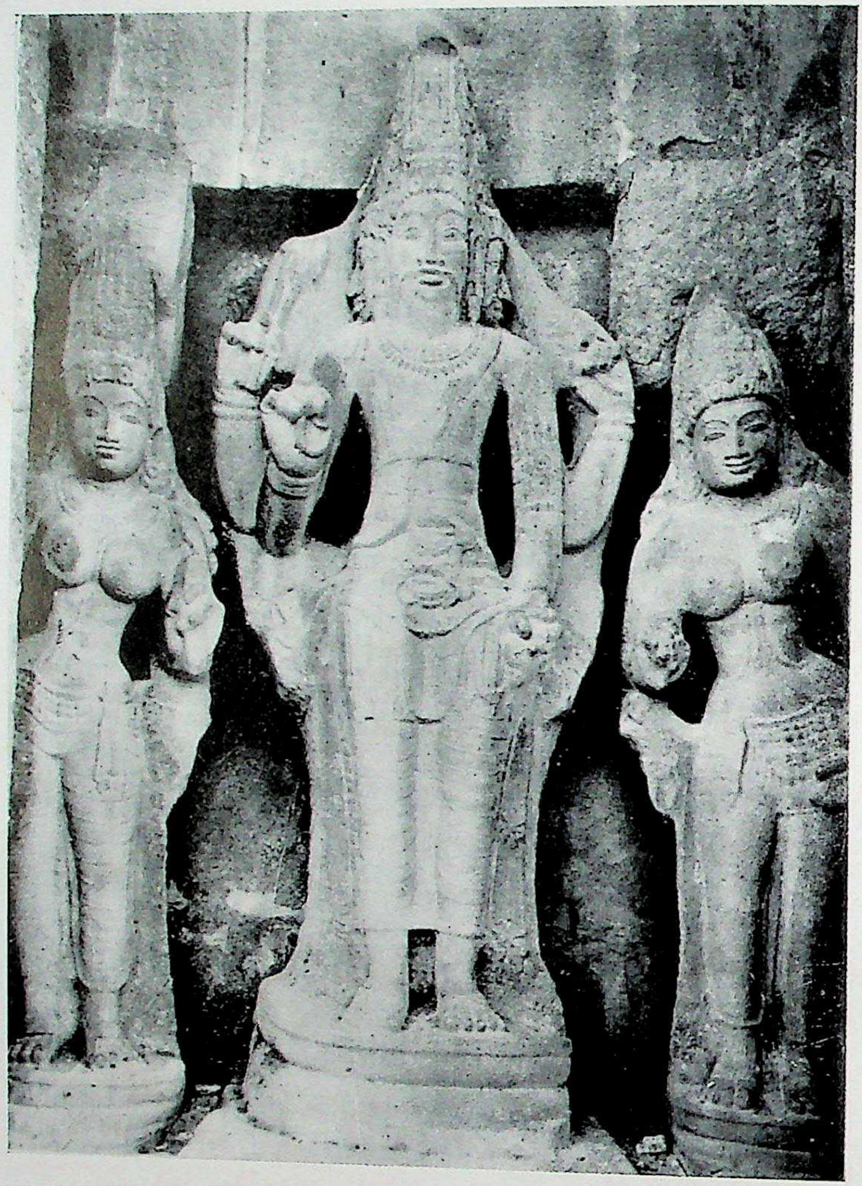


Fig. 38. Brahmā with beard flanked by Sāvitrī and Sarasvatī, Choḷa, 11th century A.D., Gaṅgaikoṇḍachoḷapuram.

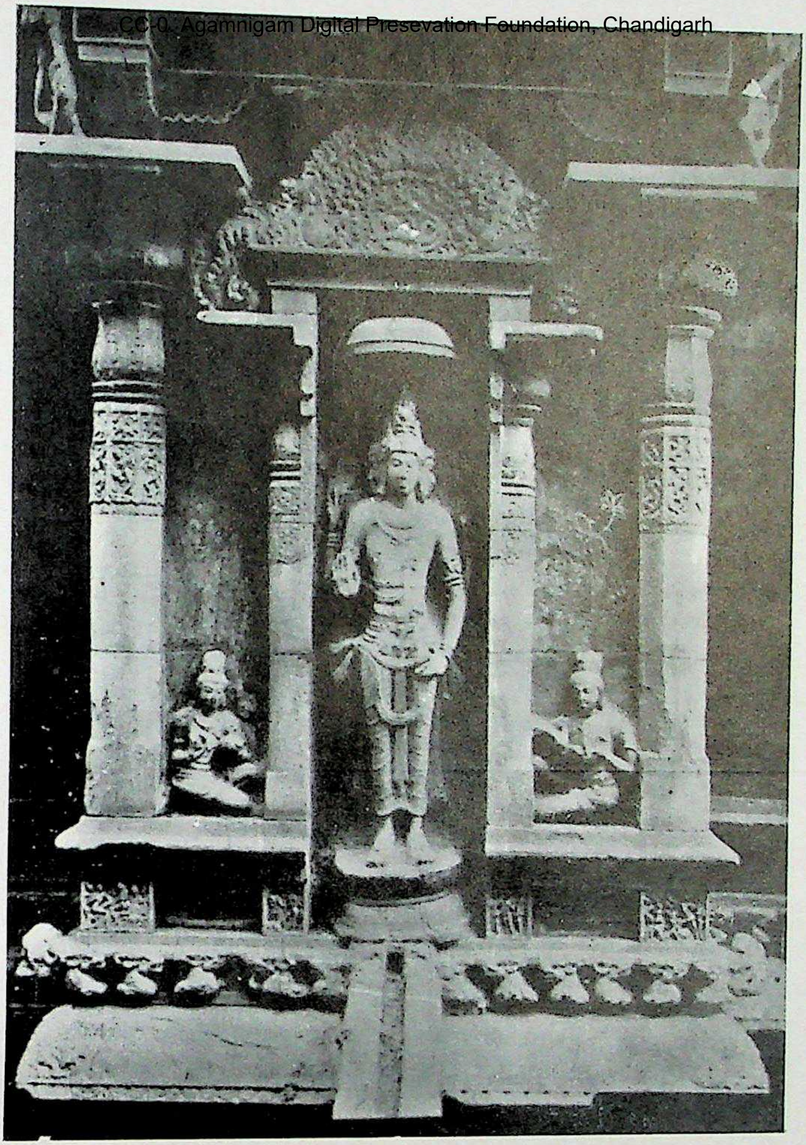
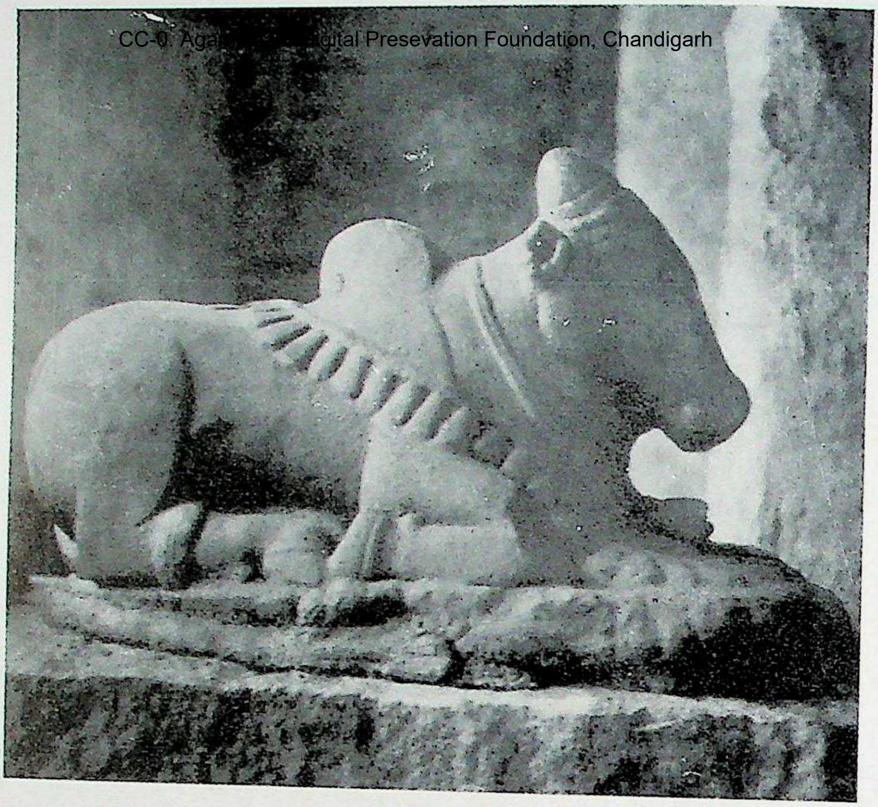


Fig. 39. Normal youthful type of Brahmā, Choḷa, 10th century A.D., Puḷḷamaṅgai.



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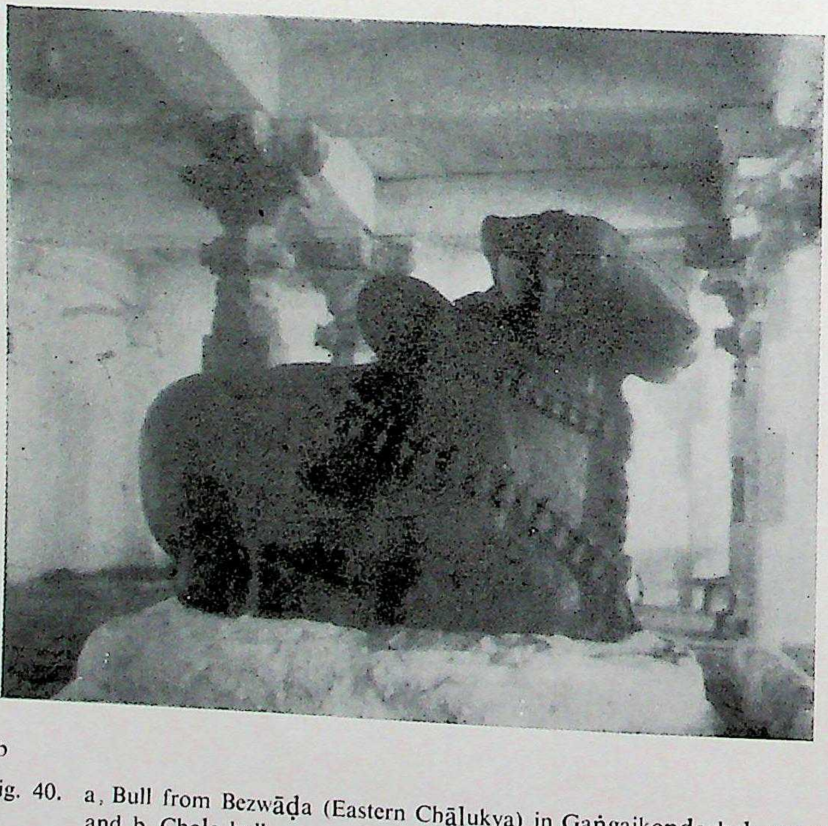

b

Fig. 40. a, Bull from Bezwāḍa (Eastern Chāḷukya) in Gaṅgaikoṇḍachoḷapuram and b Choḷa bull.

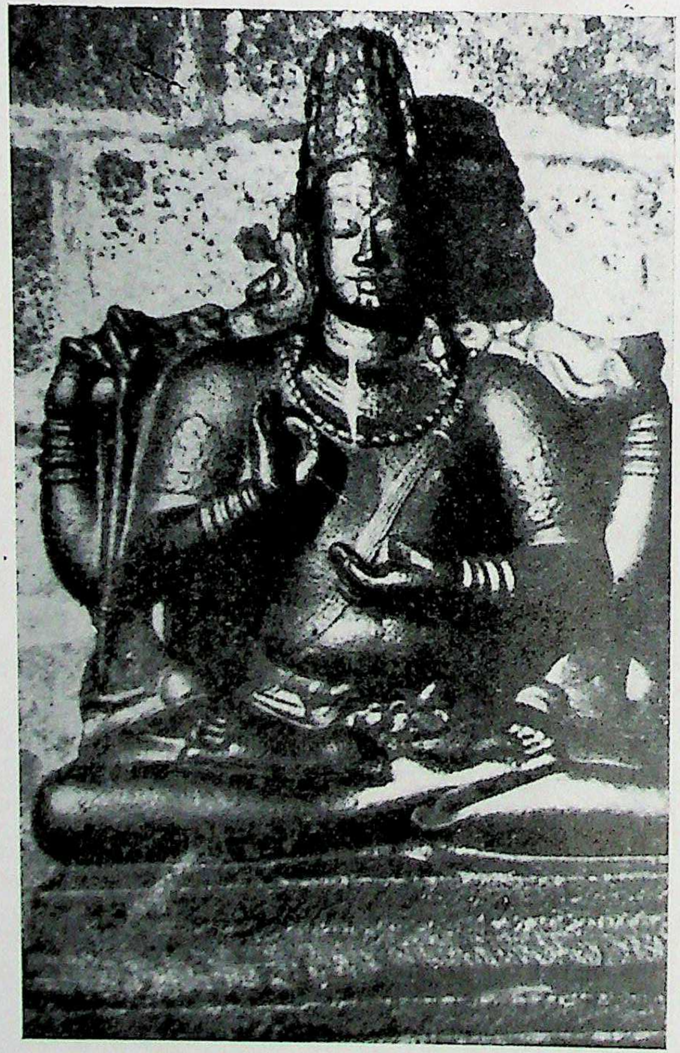

Fig. 41. So-called Gaulīśa, Choḷa, 11th century A.D., Tiruvottiyur.

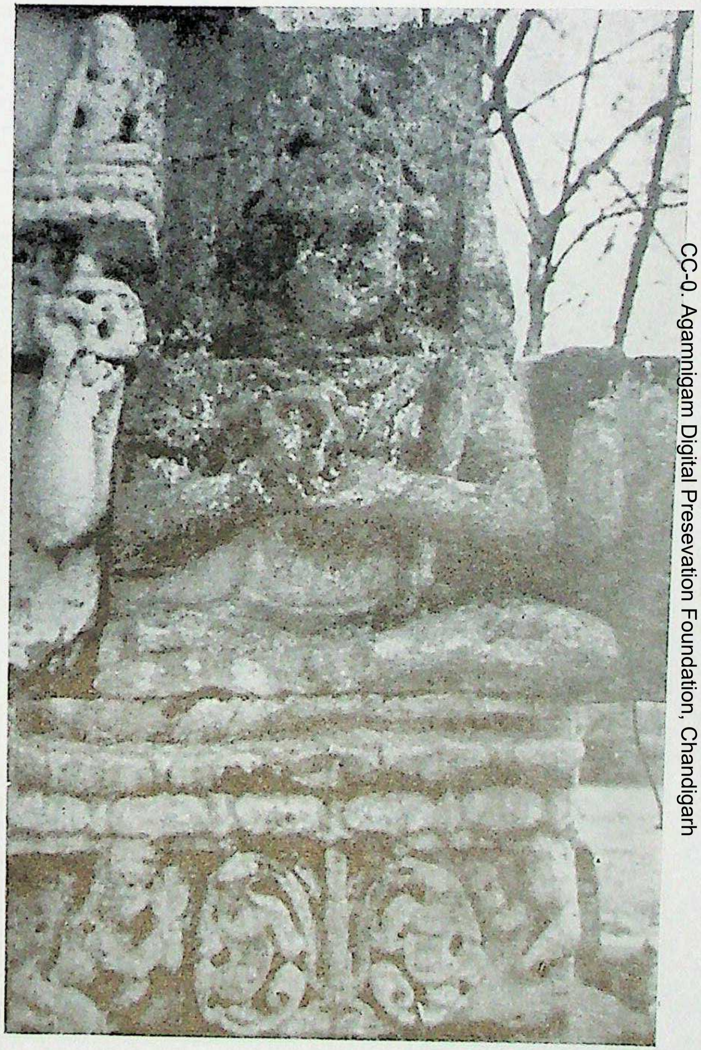

Fig. 42. Lakulīśa, Eastern Chāḷukya, 10th century A.D., Biccavolu.

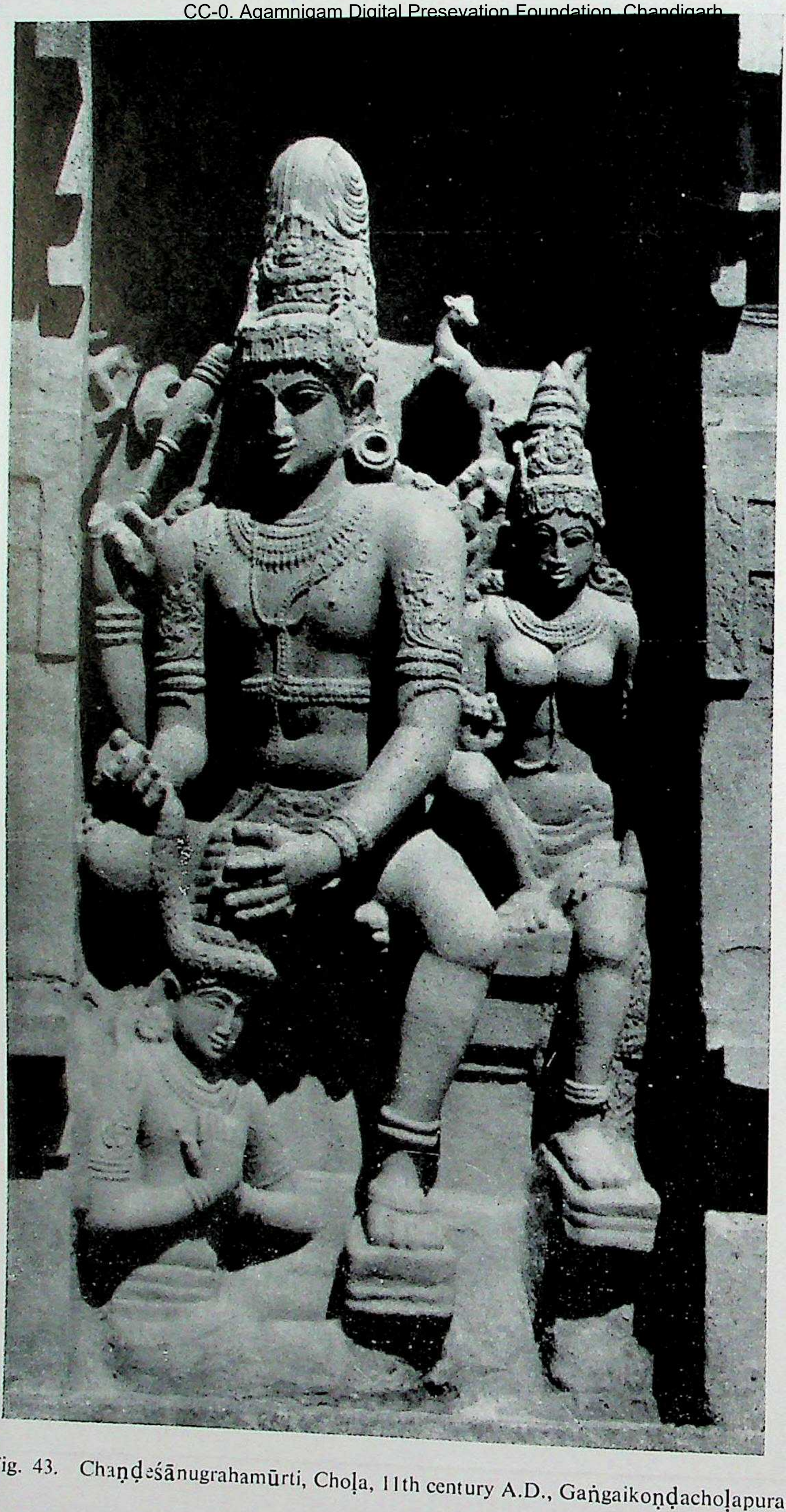

Fig. 43. Chaṇḍeśānugrahamūrti, Choḷa, 11th century A.D., Gaṅgaikoṇḍachoḷapuram.

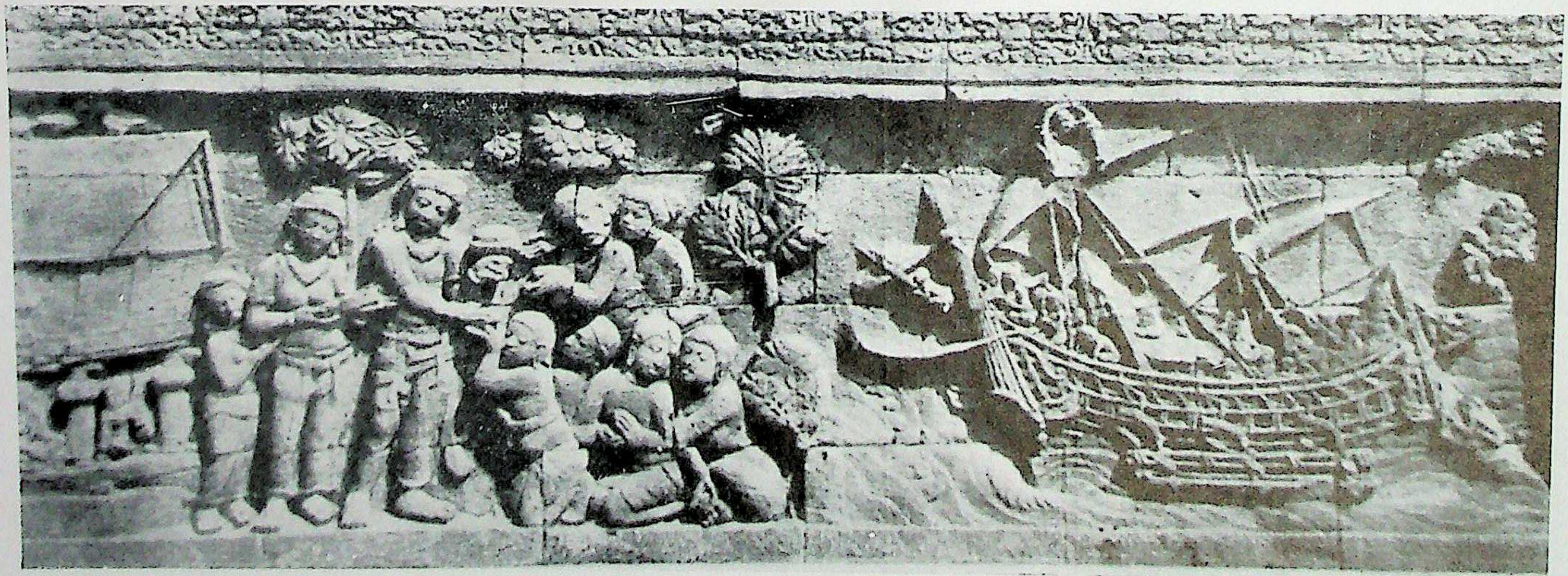

Fig. 44. A large and well-equipped ship, Śailendra, 8th century A.D., Borobudur, Indonesia.

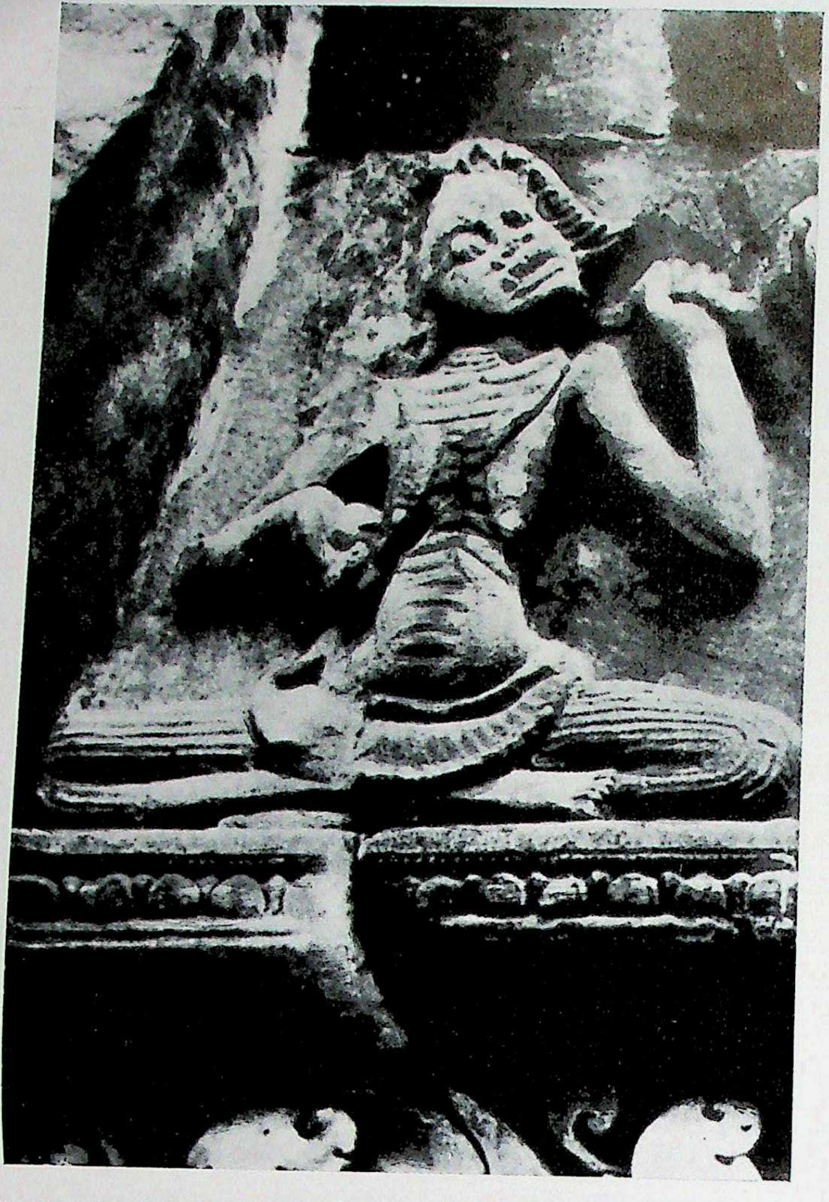

Fig. 45. Kāraikkālammaiyār, Śailendra, 10th century A.D., Bentei Srei, Cambodia.

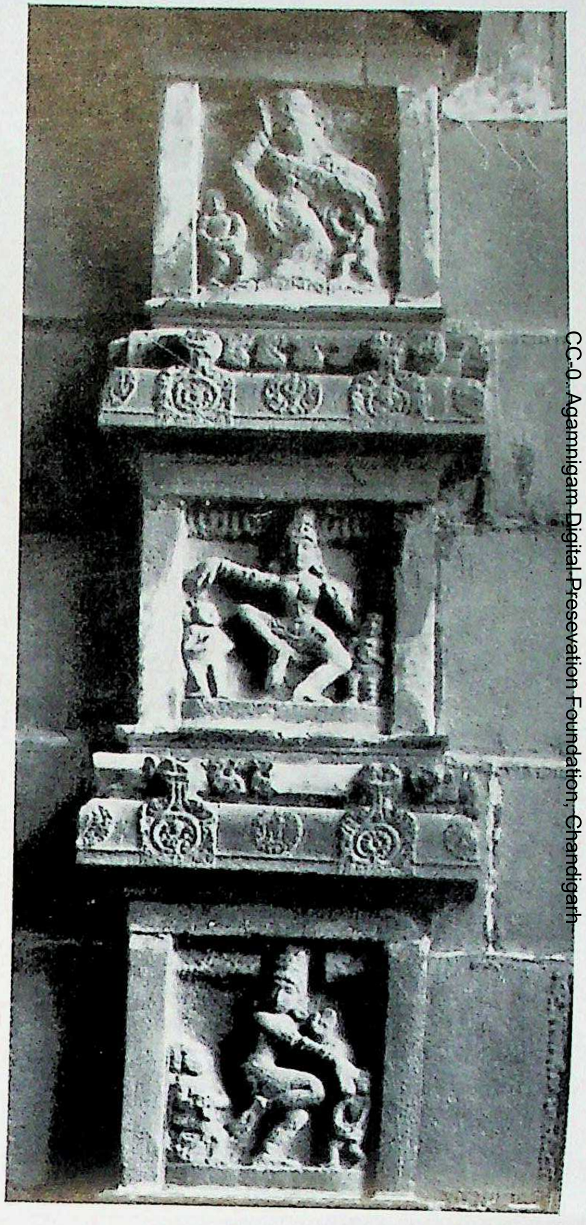

Fig. 46. *Karaṇas* in *nāṭya* represented on the *gopuras*, Choḷa, 13th century A.D., Chidaṁbaram.

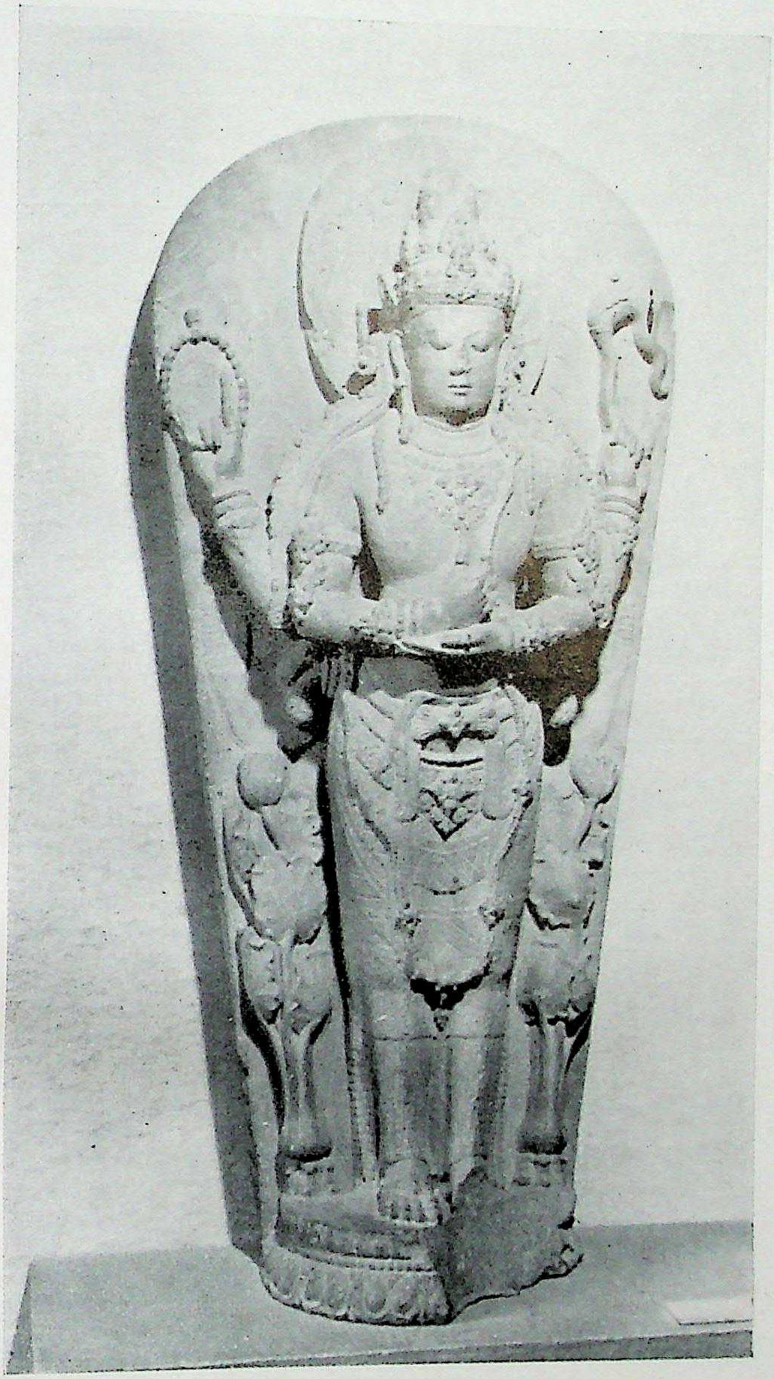

Fig. 47. Śiva with his hands in *abhinaya* suggesting *Śivaliṅga*, Śailendra, 9th century A.D., Prāmbaṇan, Indonesia.

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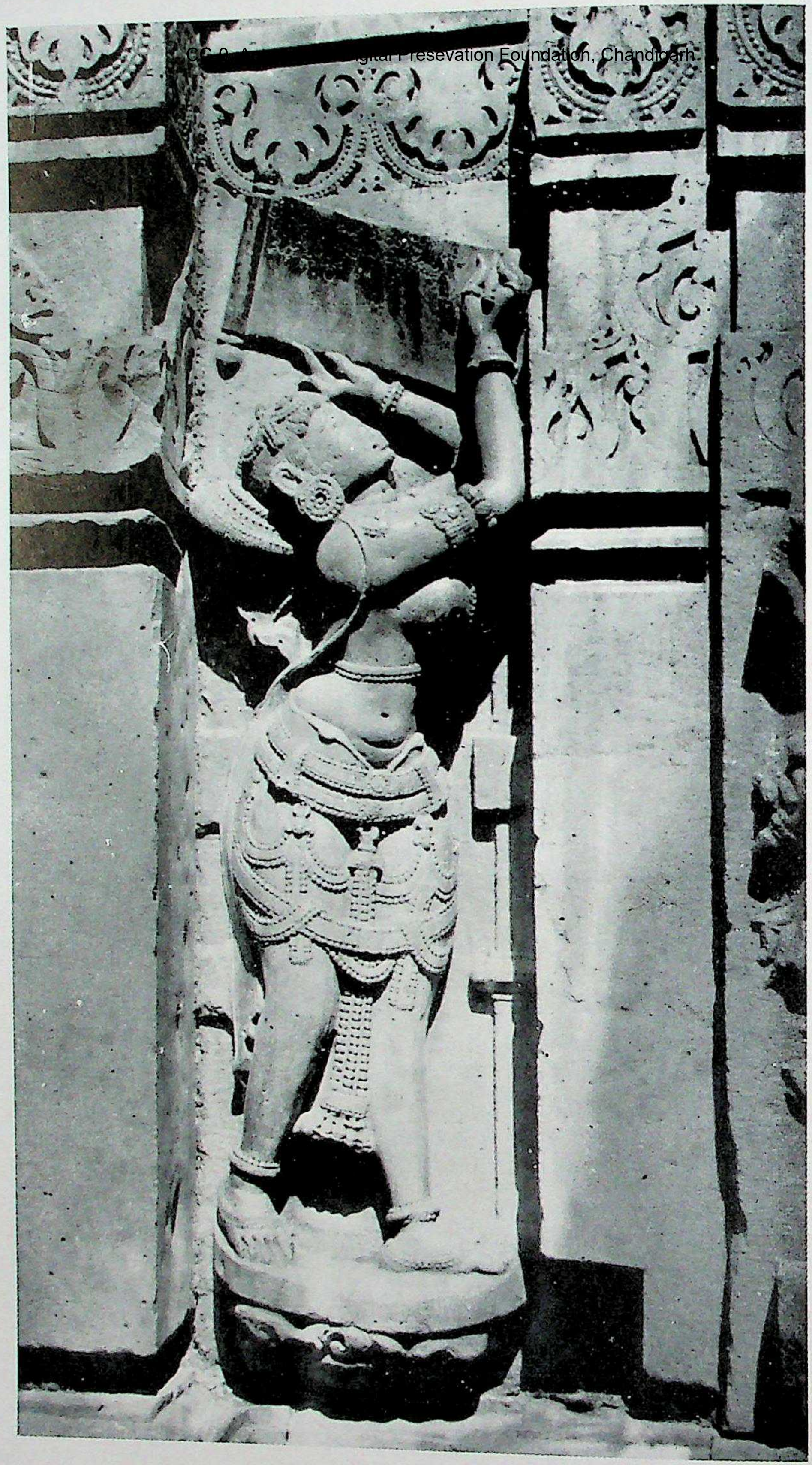

Fig. 48. Princess and banner, Western Chāḷukya, 11th century A.D., Kannaḍa Institute Museum, Karṇāṭaka University, Dhārwār.

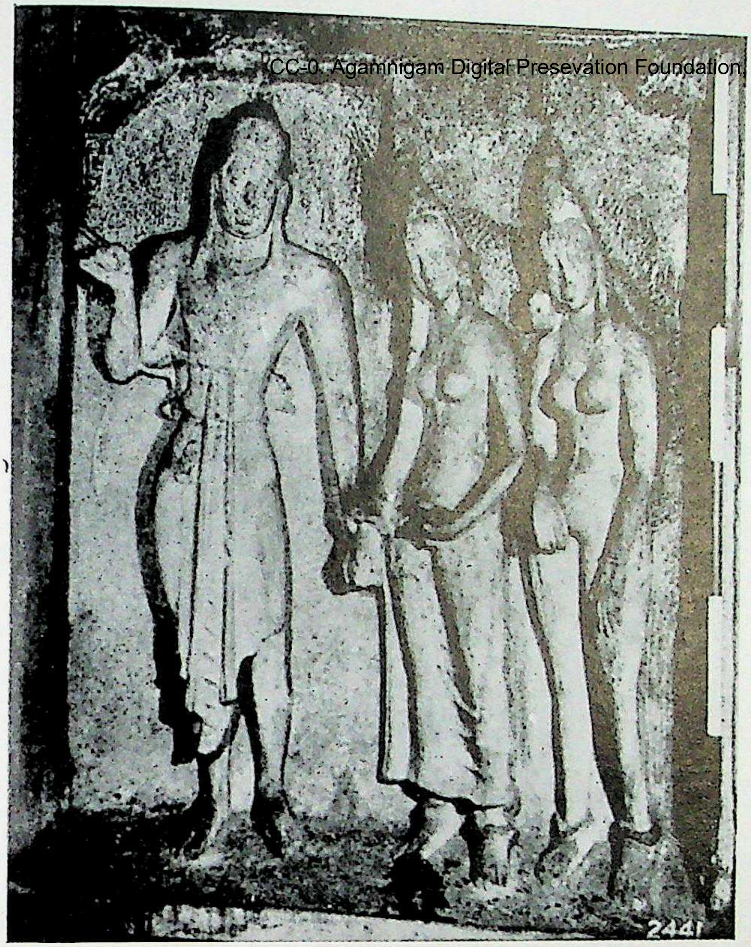

Fig. 49. Mahendravarman and queens, Pallava, 7th century A.D., Varāha cave 2, Mahābalipuram.

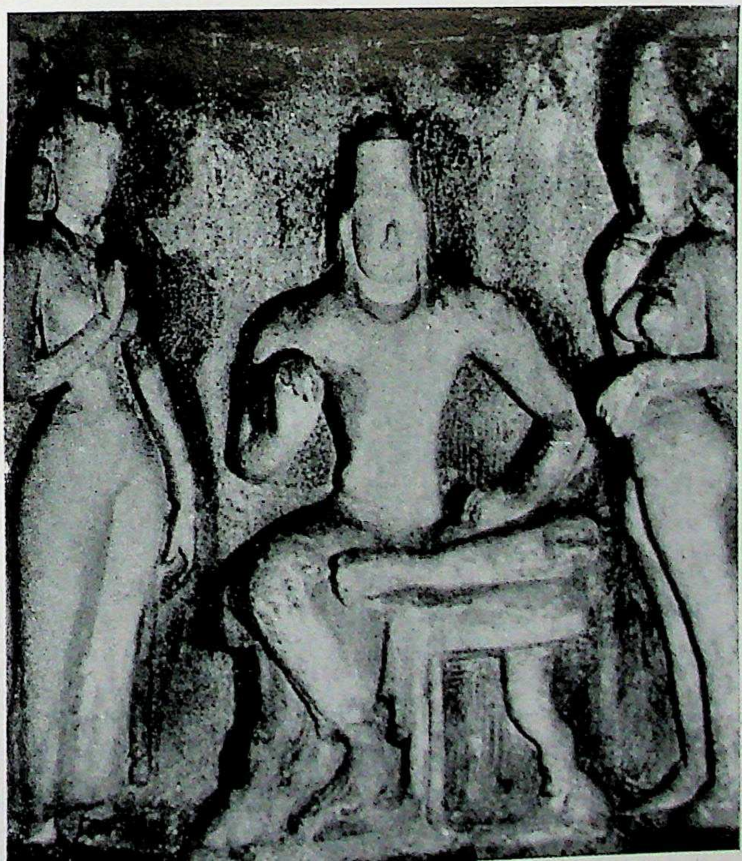

Fig. 50. Siṁhavishṇu and queens, Pallava, 7th century A.D., Varāha cave 2, Mahābalipuram.

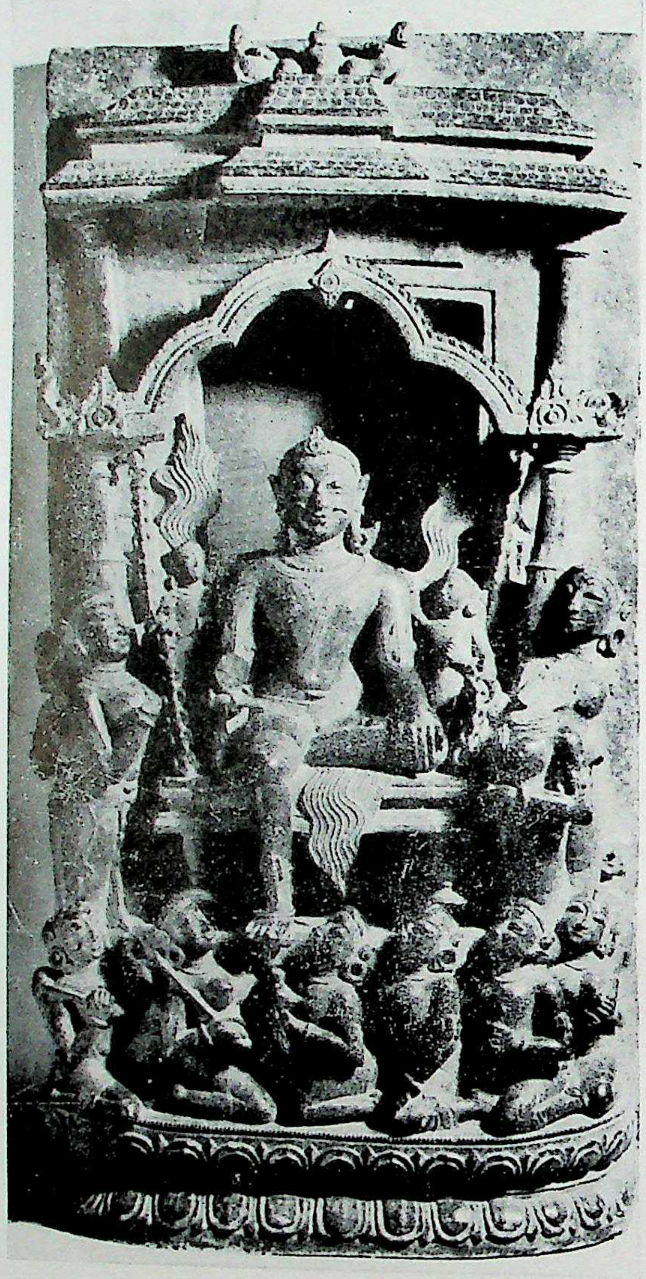

Fig. 51. Narasiṁha sporting on a swing, Eastern Gaṅga, 13th century A.D., Koṇārak, National Museum.

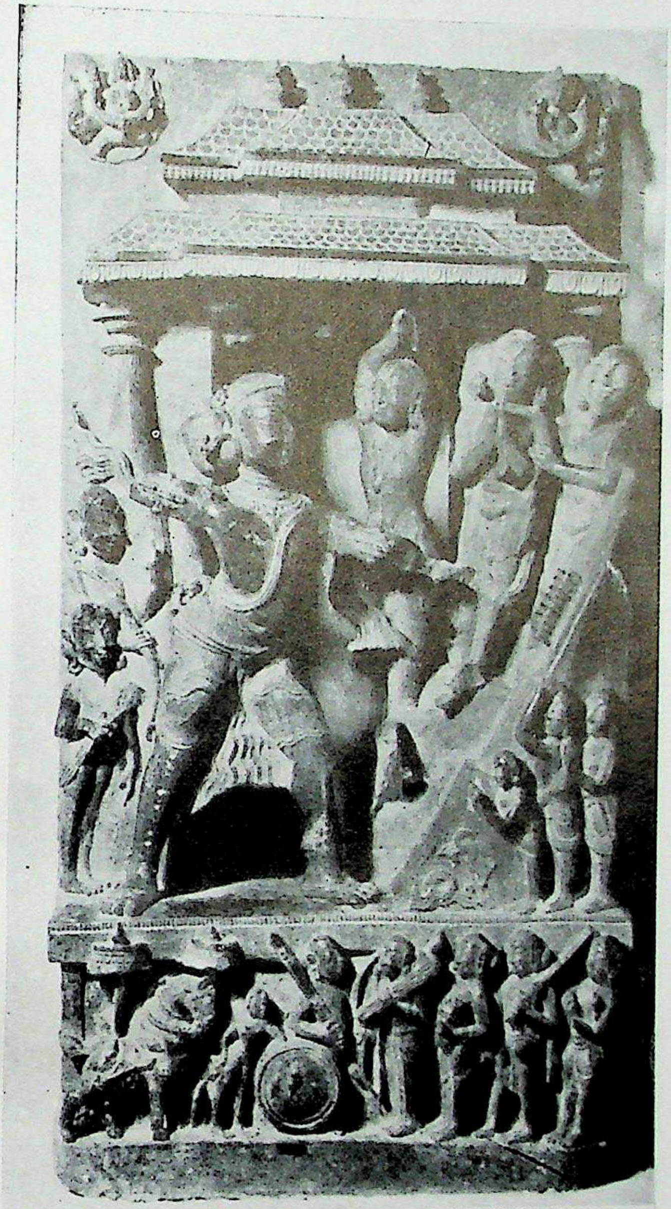

Fig. 52. Narasiṁha as an archer, Eastern Gaṅga, 13th century A.D., Koṇārak, National Museum.

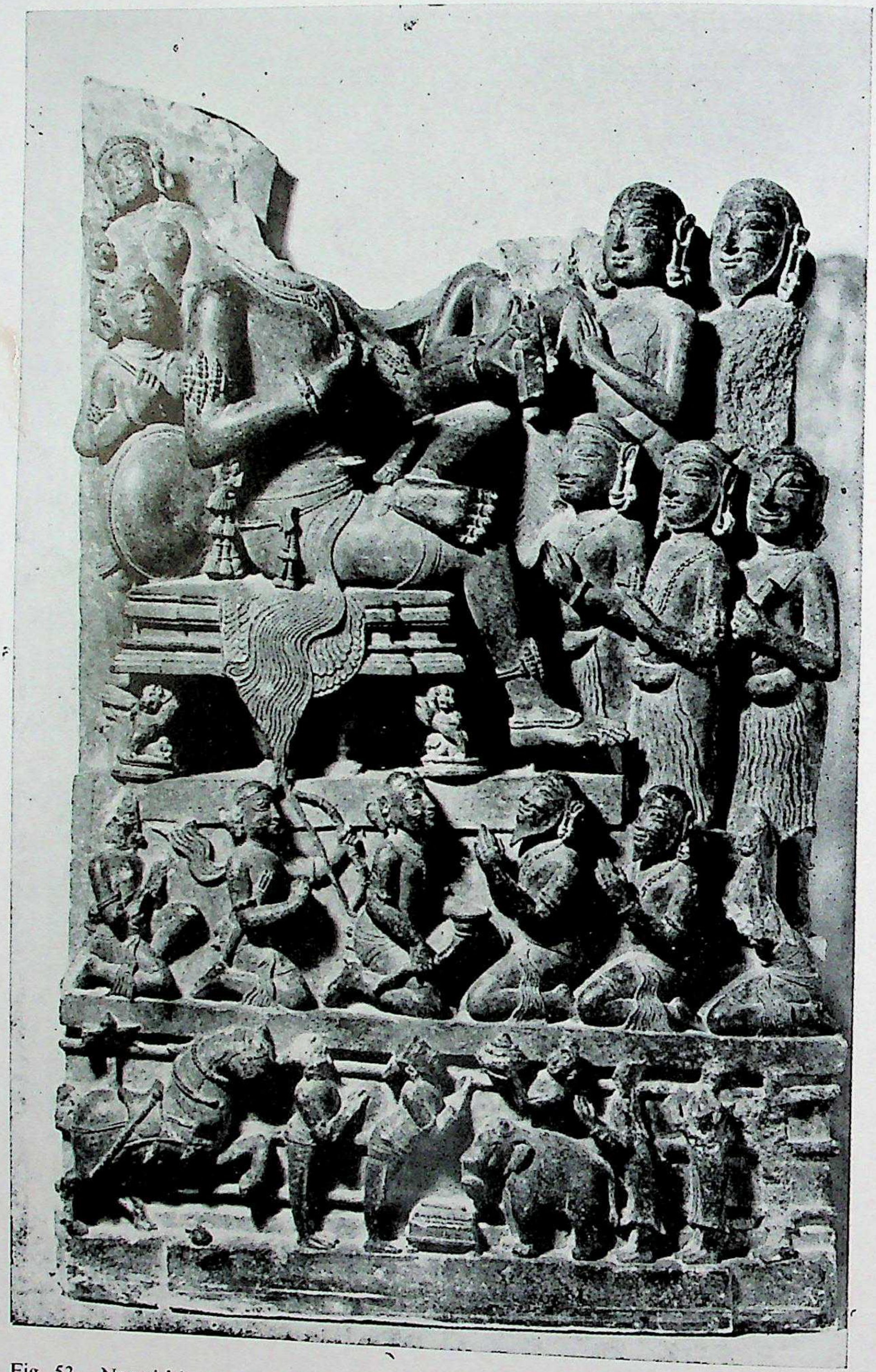

Fig. 53. Narasiṁha as a patrion of poets, Eastern Gaṅga, 13th century A.D., Koṇārak, National Museum.

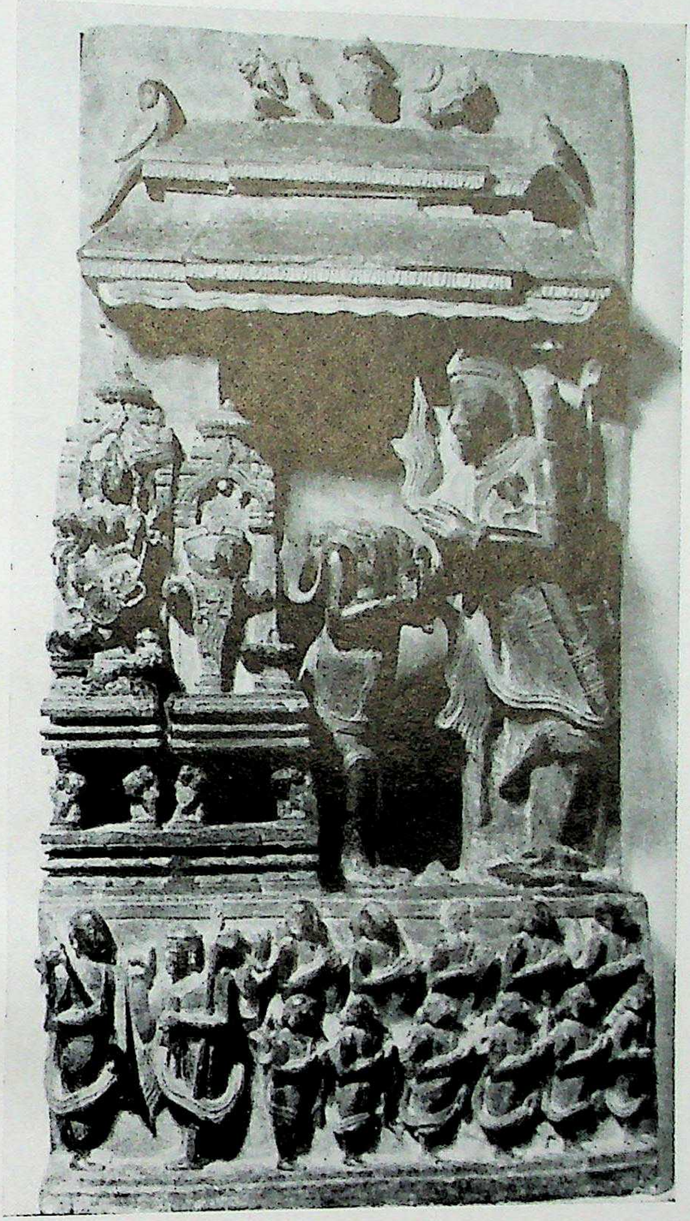

Fig. 54. Narasiṁha as a devotee of several deities, Eastern Gaṅga, 13th century A.D., Koṇārak, National Museum.

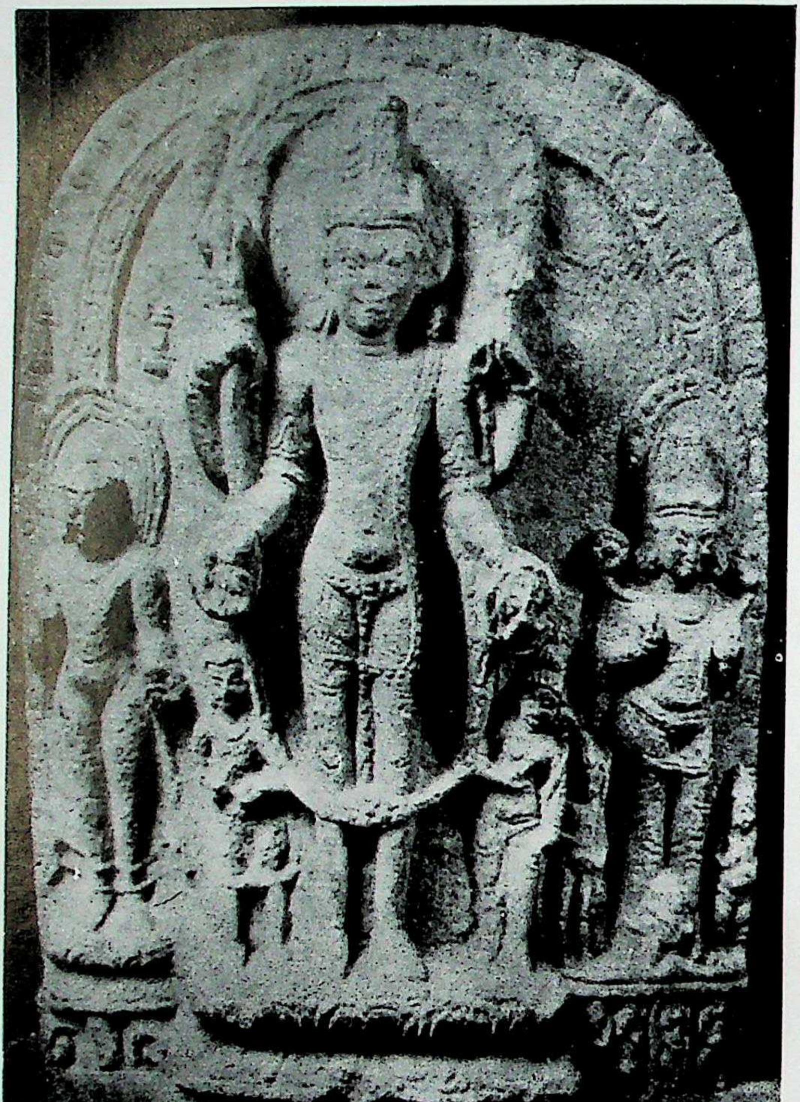

Fig. 55. Harihara flanked by Sūrya and Buddha, Gurjara Pratīhāra, 9th century A.D., Indian Museum, Calcutta.

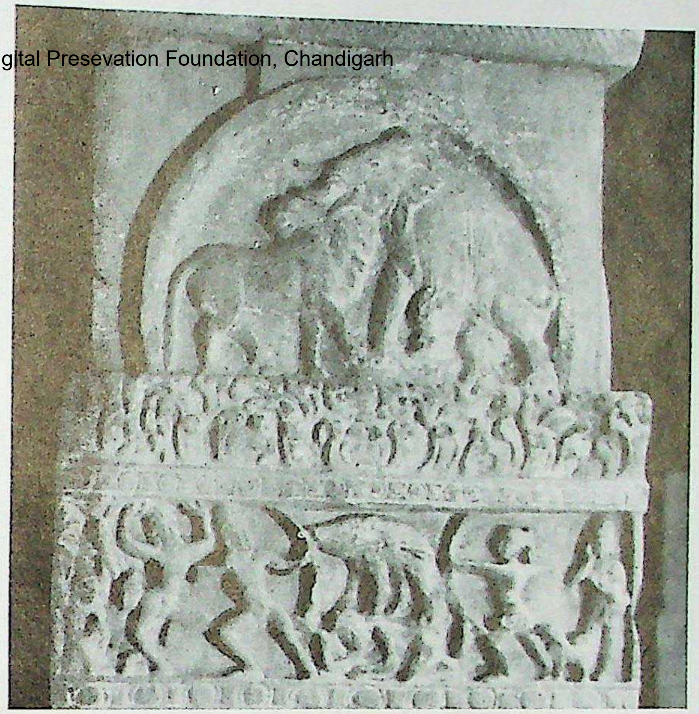

Fig. 56. Gajavṛishabha motif, Early Western Chāḷukya, 8th century A.D., Paṭṭaḍakal.

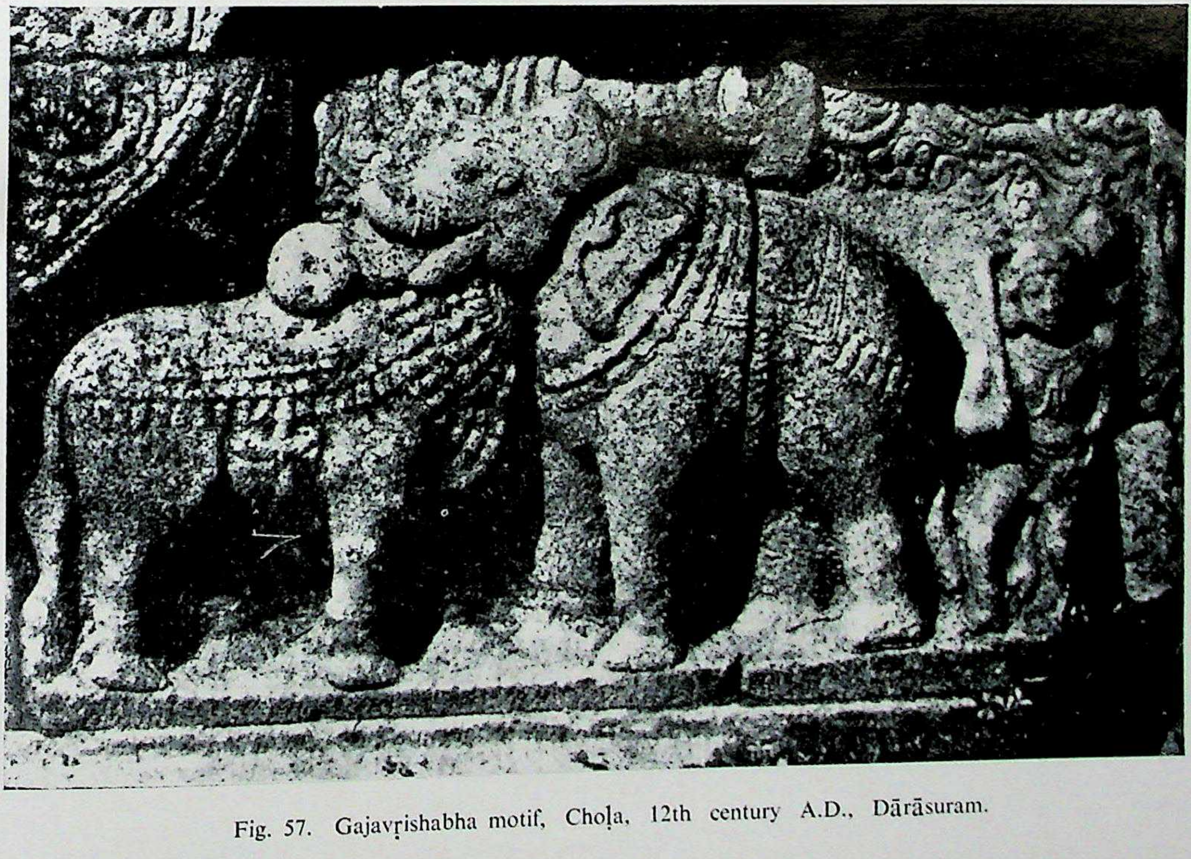

Fig. 57. Gajavṛishabha motif, Choḷa, 12th century A.D., Dārāsuram.

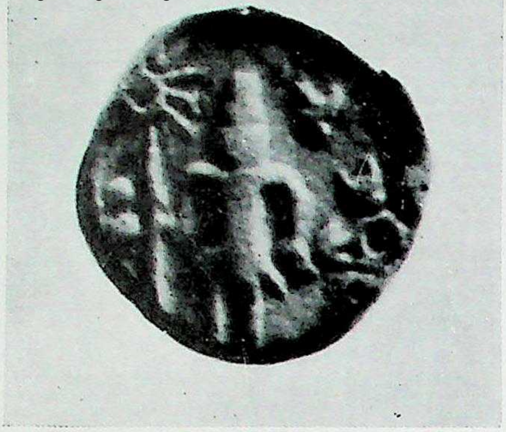

Fig. 60. King and solar standard on coin, Tribal, 1st century B.C., Avanti.

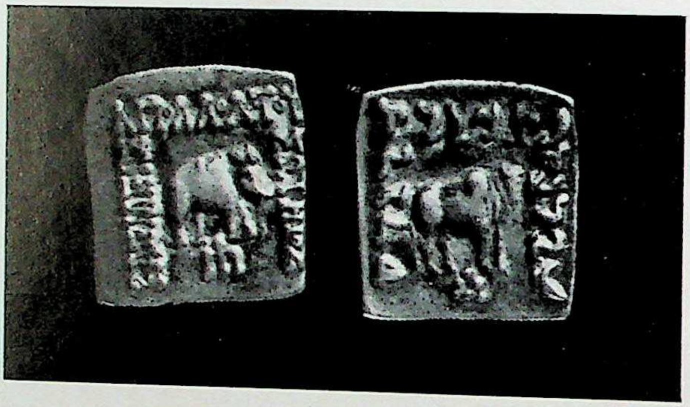

Fig. 58. Bull and elephant on coin of Apollodotus, 2nd century B.C., National Museum.

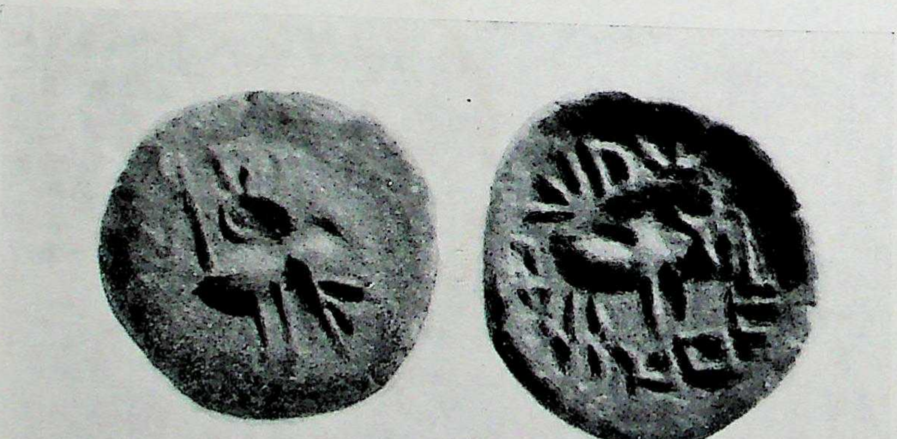

Fig. 59. Bull and elephant on coin of the Yaudheyas, Tribal, 1st century B.C., National Museum.

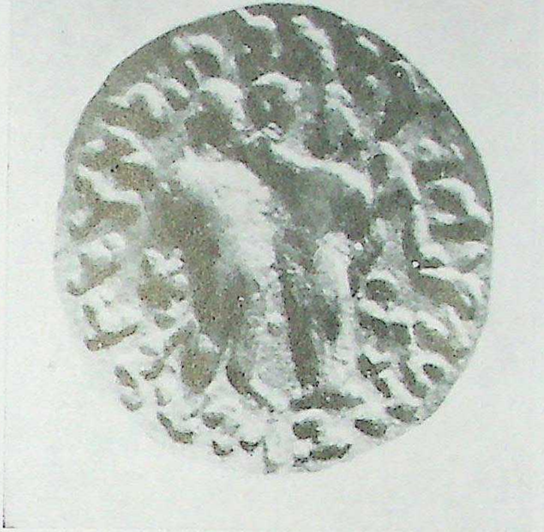

Fig. 63. King hailed by city goddess, coin of Zionises of Taxila, 1st century A.D.

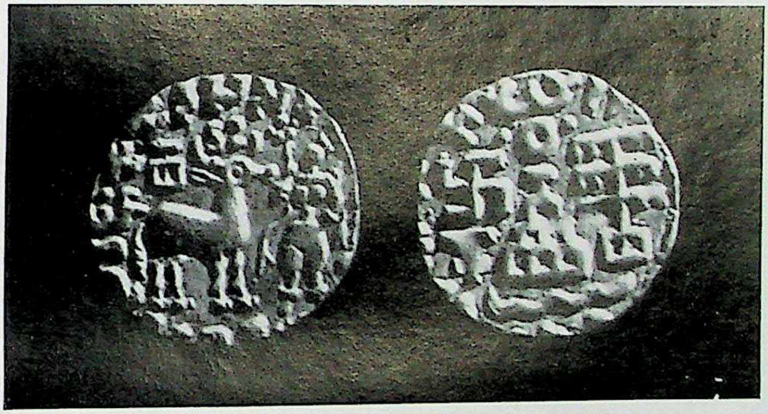

Fig. 62. Anthropomorphic, zoomorphic and symbolic representation of Śrī on Tribal coin of Kuṇinda Amoghabhūti, 1st century A.D.

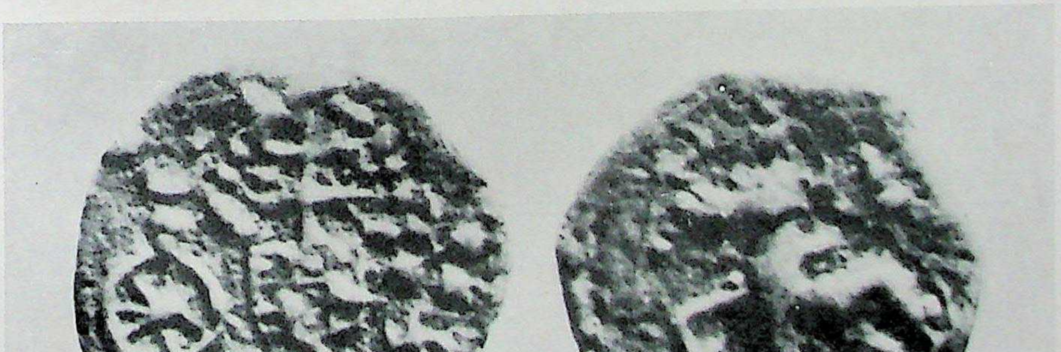

Fig. 61. Hill and *Kalpa* tree on coin, Tribal, 1st century B.C., Kauśāmbī.

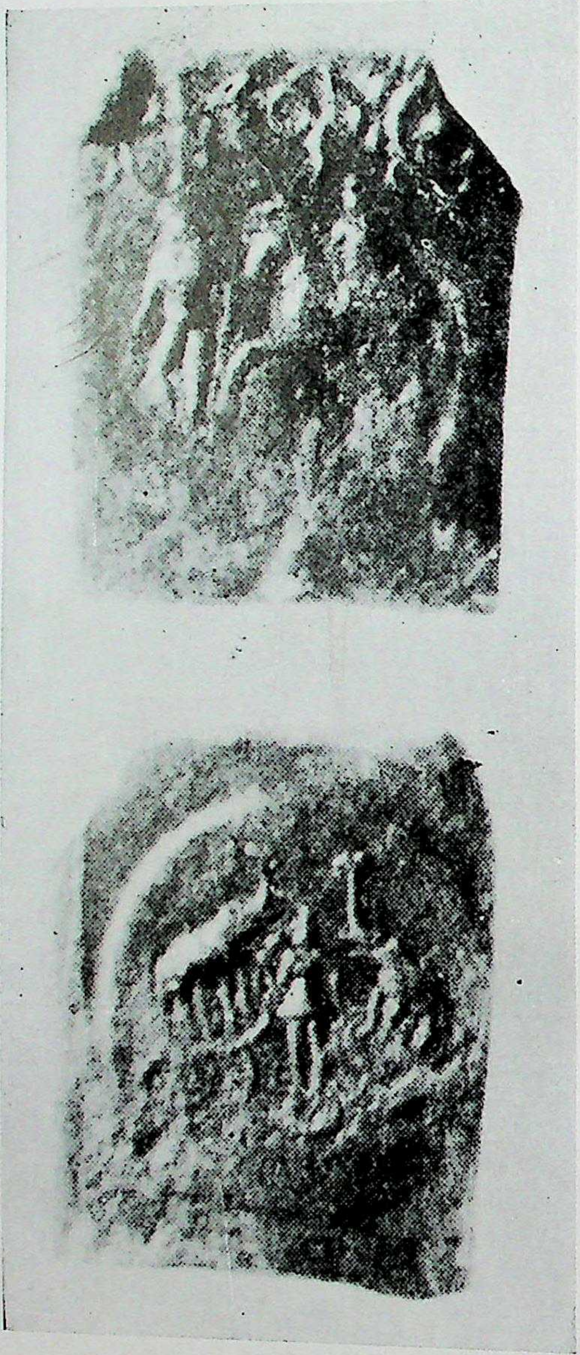

Fig. 64. Lakshmī bathed by elephants on reverse of Sujyeshṭha's coin, 2nd century B.C.

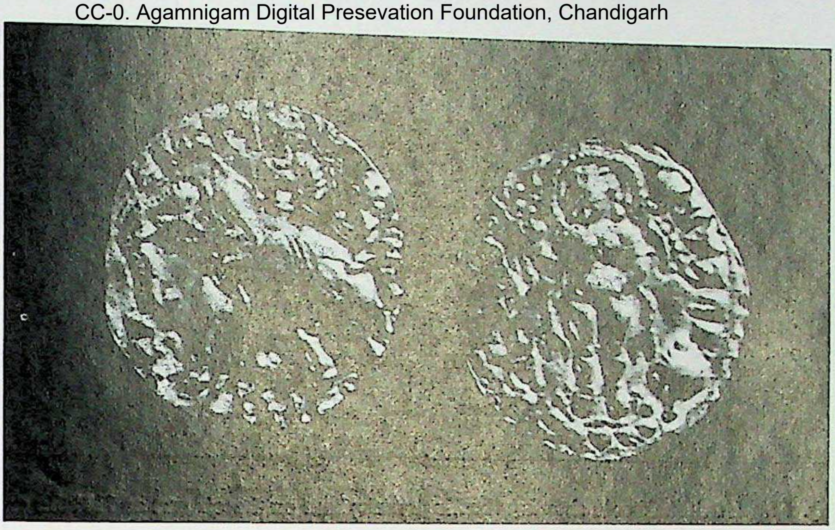

Fig. 65. Kumāragupta's elephant-rider lion-trampler type of coin showing Śrī flanked by *nidhis*, Gupta, 5th century A.D., National Museum.

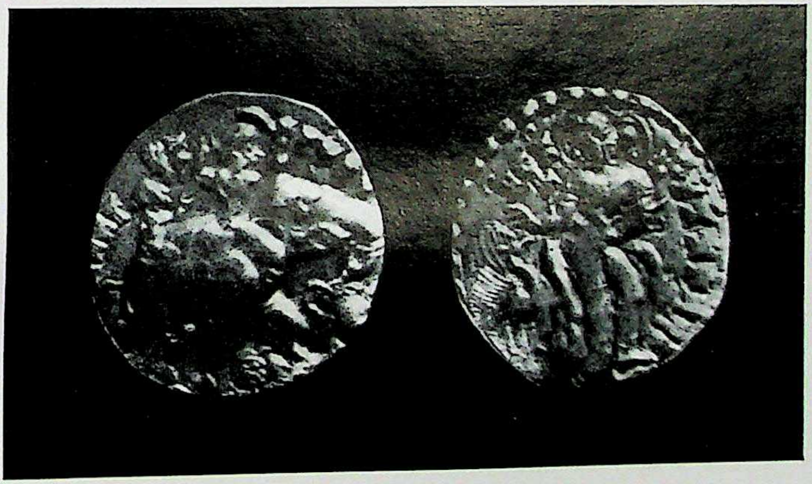

Fig. 66. Kumāragupta's elephant rider coin, Gupta, 5th century A.D., National Museum.

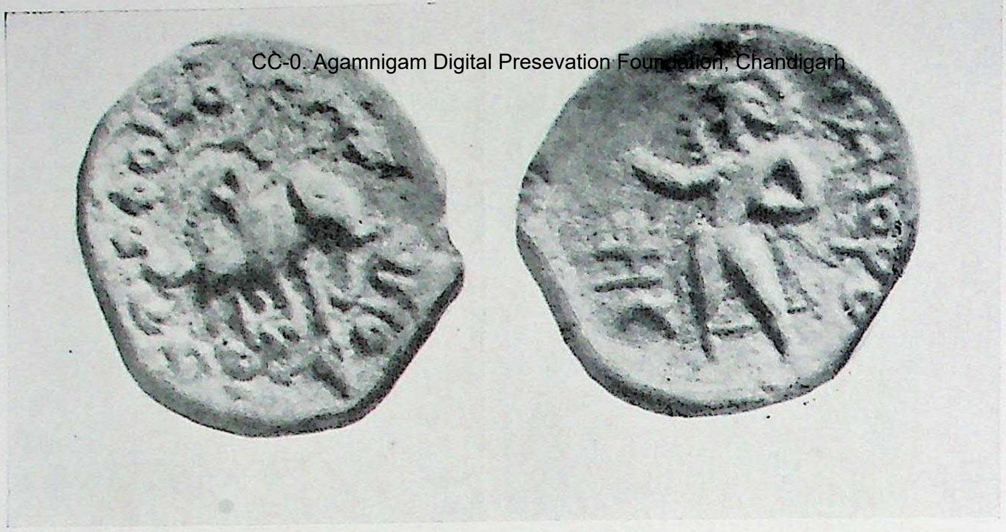

Fig. 67. Huvishka's coin showing the king on elephant on the obverse and Mihira on the reverse, Kushāṇa, 1st century A.D.

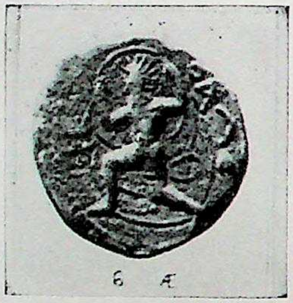

Fig. 68. Kanishka's coin showing on reverse Vāyu running, Kushāṇa, 1st century A.D., National Museum.

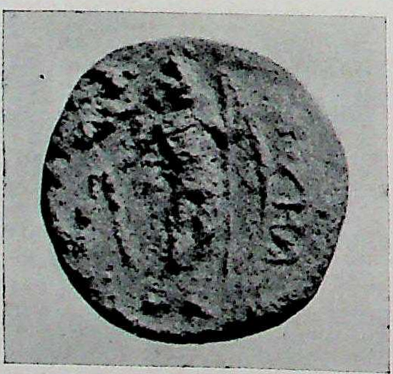

Fig. 69. Huvishka's coin showing Śiva with bow standing and legend *Gaṇesa*, Kushāṇa, 1st century A.D., British Museum.

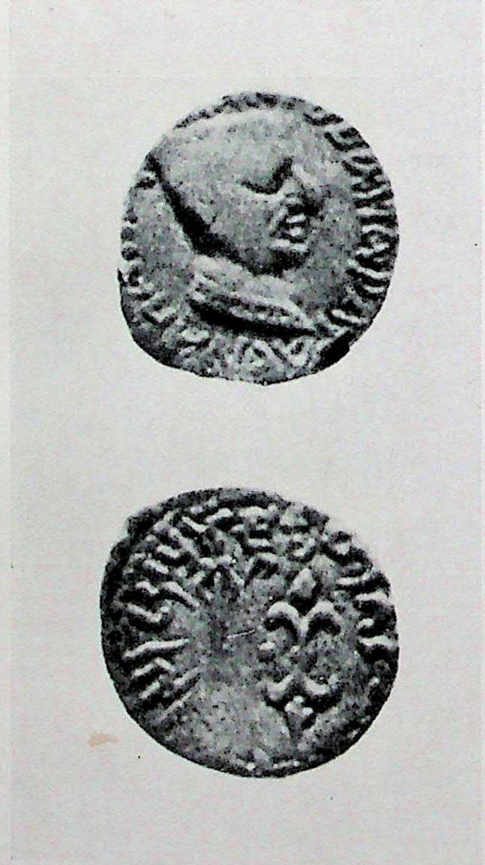

Fig. 70. Coin of Nahapaṇa with arrow and thunderbolt, Kshatrapa, 1st century A.D., National Museum.

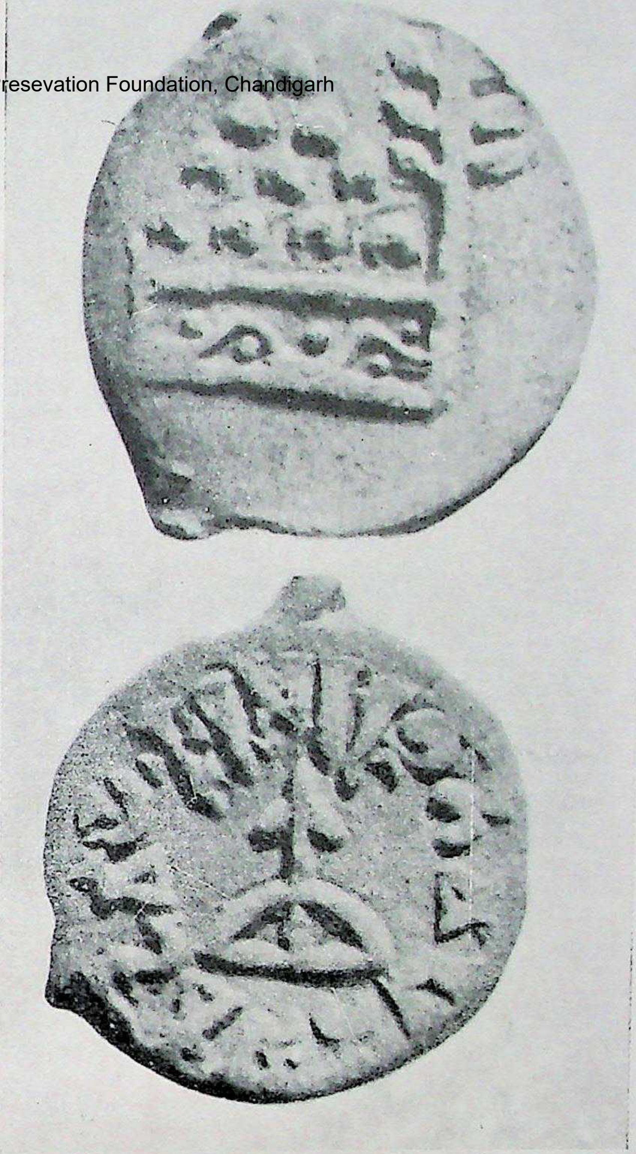

Fig. 71. Coin of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī showing strung bow, Sītavāhana, 1st century A.D., National Museum.

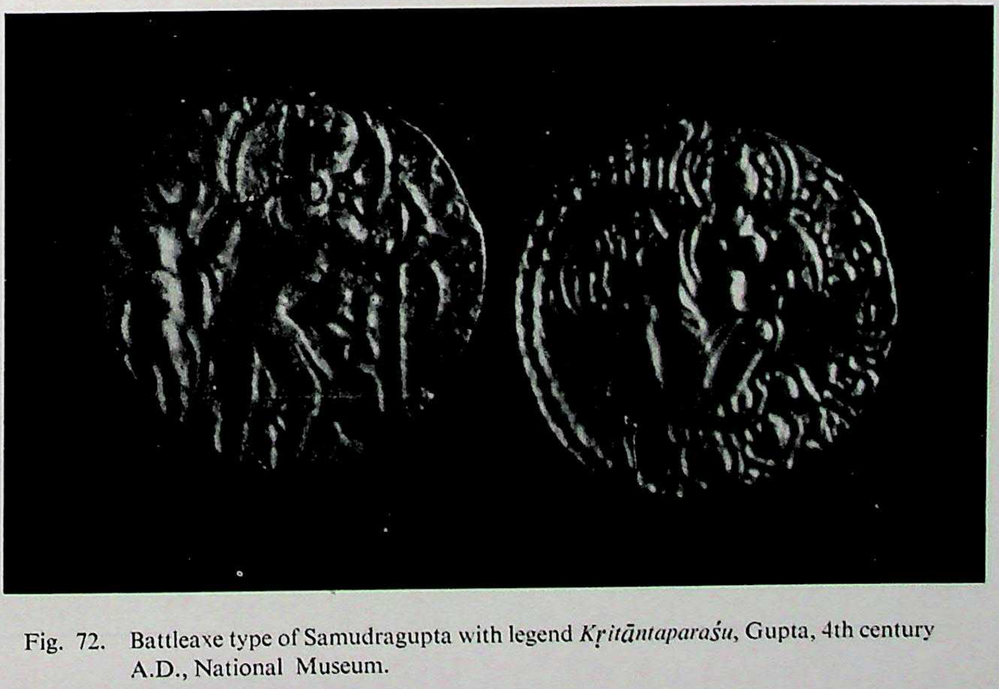

Fig. 72. Battleaxe type of Samudragupta with legend *Kṛitāntaparaśu*, Gupta, 4th century A.D., National Museum.

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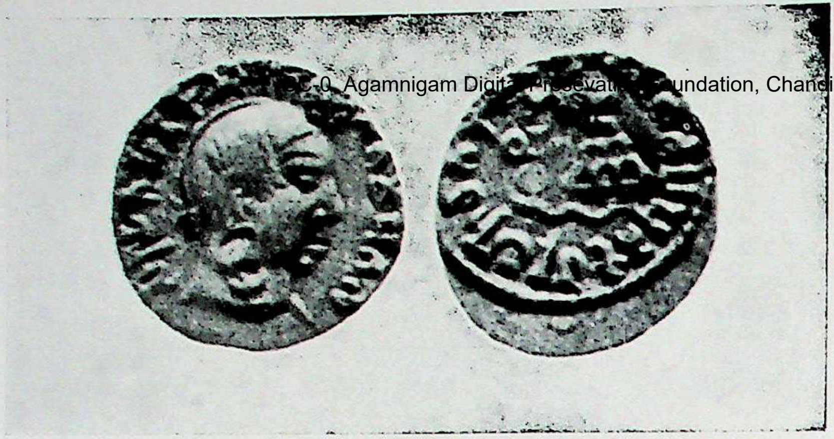

Fig. 73. Coin of Siri Yaña Sātakarṇi showing his portrait wearing sidelocks (*kākapakshas*) on the obverse and the four symbols of the travel of his fame on the reverse, Sātavāhana, 2nd century A.D., National Museum.

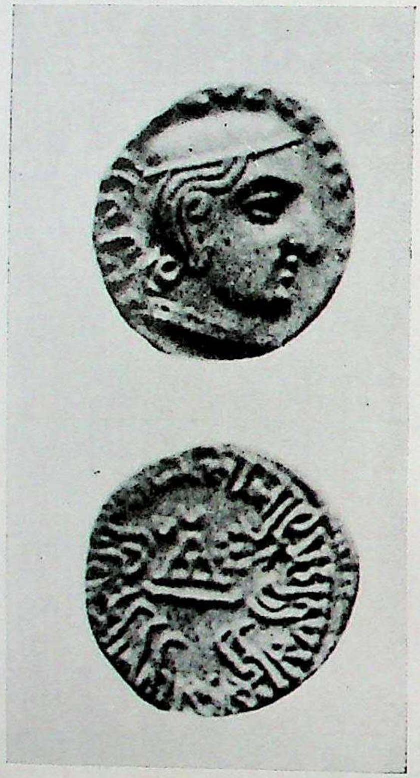

Fig. 74. Coin of Dāmasena with portrait on the obverse and the symbols of fame on the reverse, Kshatrapa, 3rd century A.D., National Museum.

Fig. 75. Bilingual coin of Vāsishṭhīputra Śātakarṇī with portrait on the obverse and the four symbols of the travel of his fame on the reverse, Sātavāhana, 2nd century A.D., National Museum.

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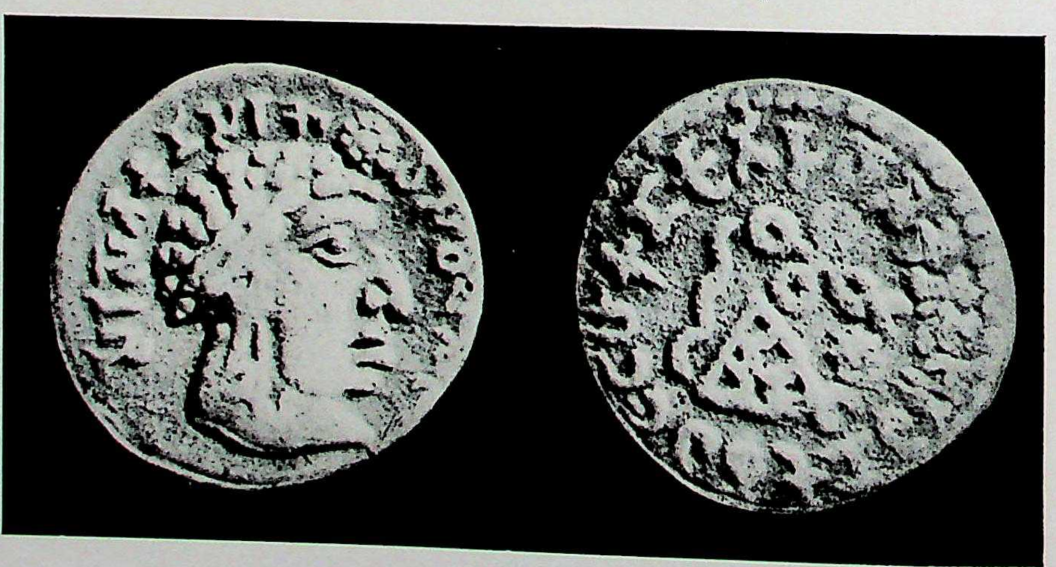
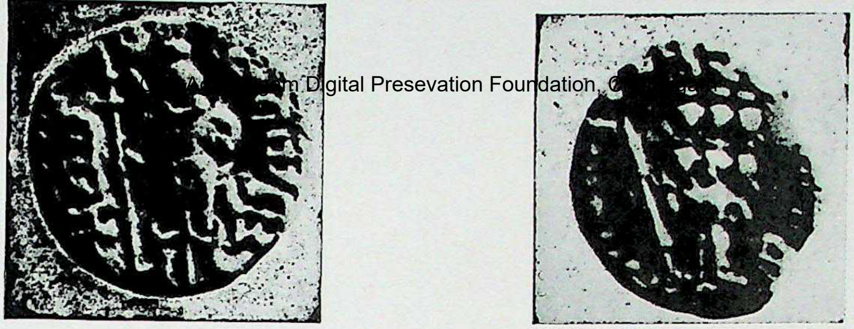
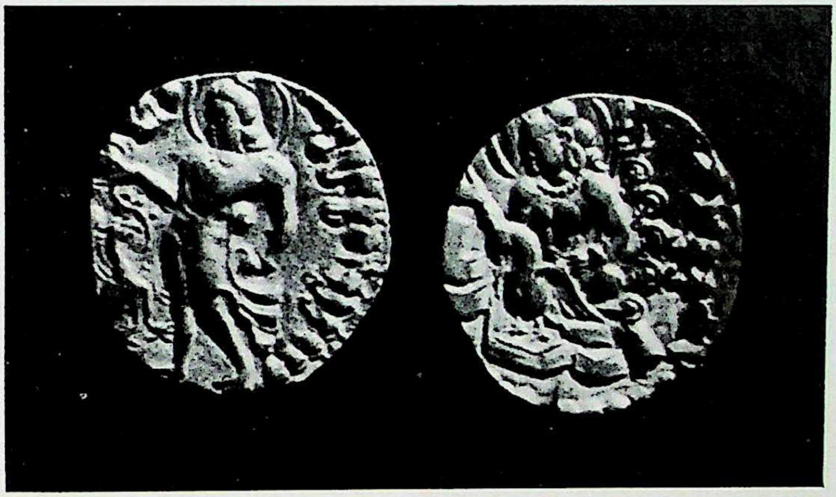




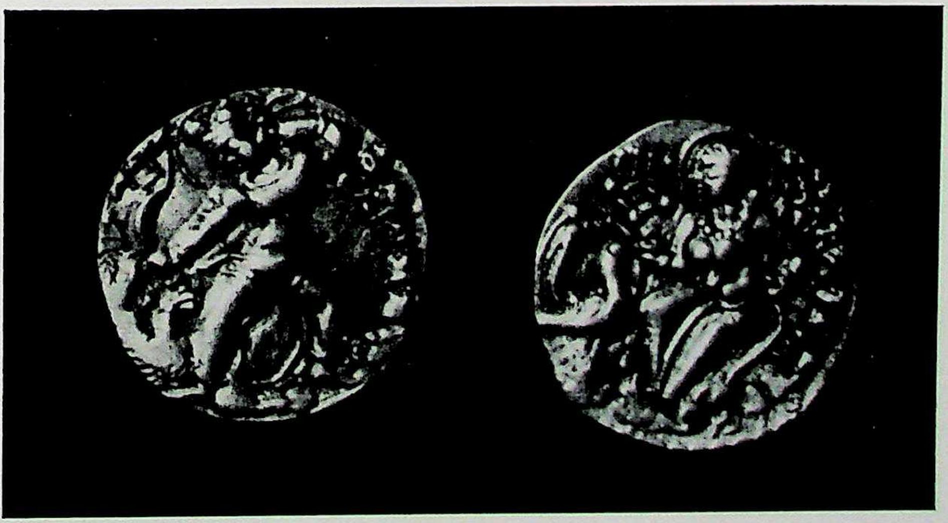
a b

Fig. 76. *Yaudheya* coin showing Kārtikeya with spear and legend *Brahmaṇyadeva*, Yaudheya, 2nd century A.D., National Museum, a, with a single head and b, with six heads.



a

Fig. 77. a, Kumāragupta's peacock type of coin showing Skanda seated on peacock on the obverse and b, Śrī or Devasenā feeding peacock on the reverse of tiger-slayer type of coin, Gupta, 5th century A.D., National Museum.



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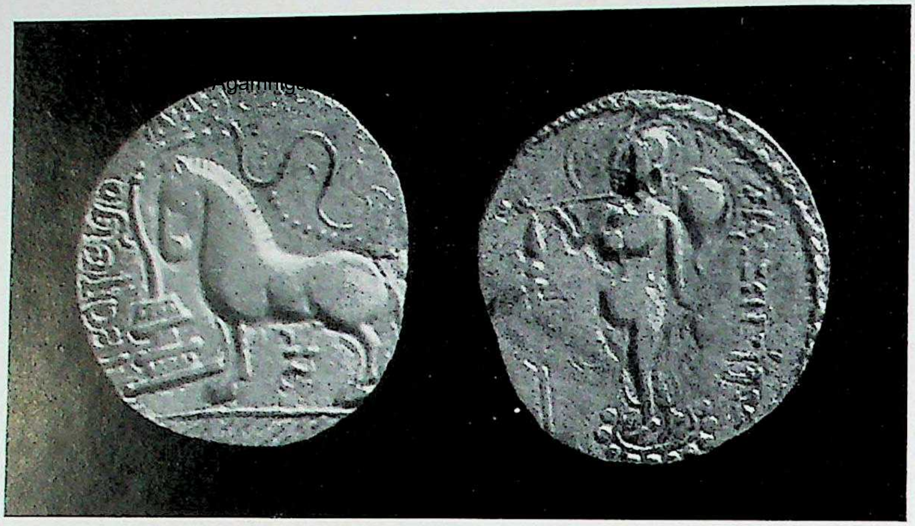


Fig. 78. *Aśvamedha* coin of Samudragupta showing the *aśvamedha* horse near *yūpa* (sacrificial post) on the obverse and Rājyaśrī with *chaurī* attending on the emperor on the reverse, Gupta, 4th century A.D., National Museum.

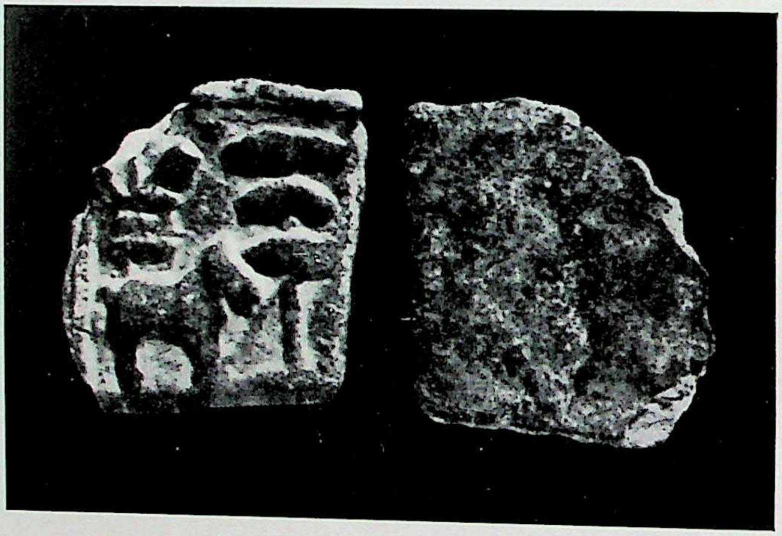
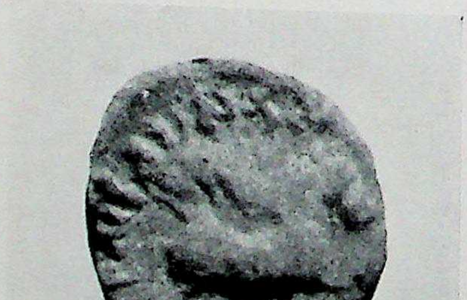


Fig. 79. Early Pāṇḍya cast coin showing the *aśvamedha* horse, 1st-2nd centuries A.D., B.C., National Museum.

Fig. 80. Coin of Chandra Śātakarṇī showing the *aśvamedha* horse, 2nd century A.D., National Museum.



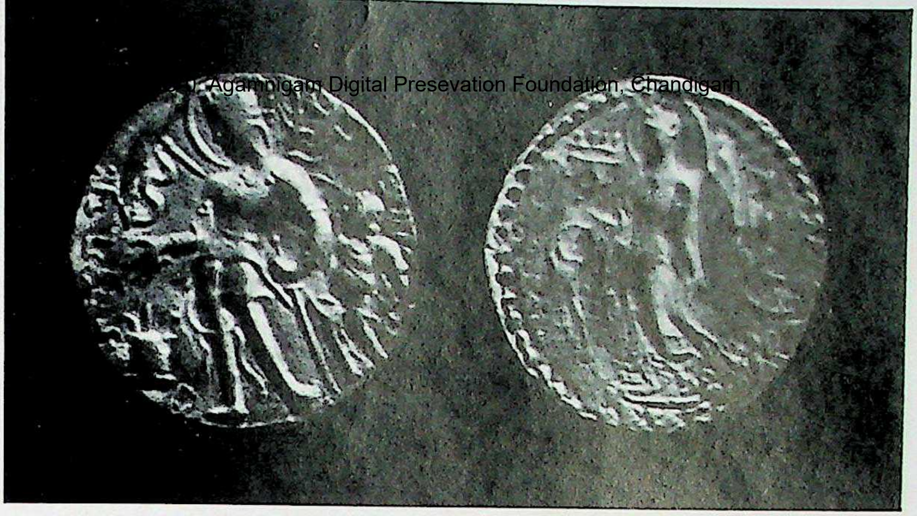


Fig. 81. *Chattra* coin of Chandragupta II, Gupta, 4th century A.D., National Museum.

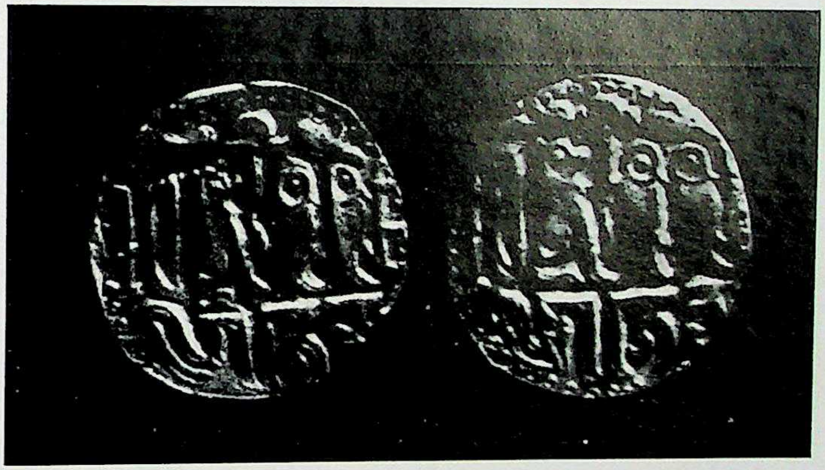


Fig. 82. Rājendra's coin showing the Choḷa tiger enthroned with umbrella flanked by *chaurīs* above, Choḷa, 11th century A.D., National Museum.

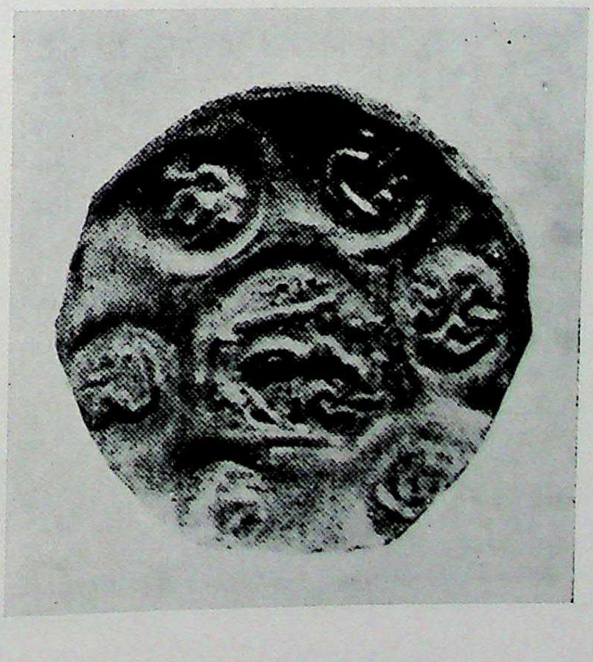


Fig. 83. Rājarāja's coin showing the Chāḷukyan boar with umbrella flanked by *chaurīs* above, Eastern Chāḷukya, 11th century A.D., National Museum.

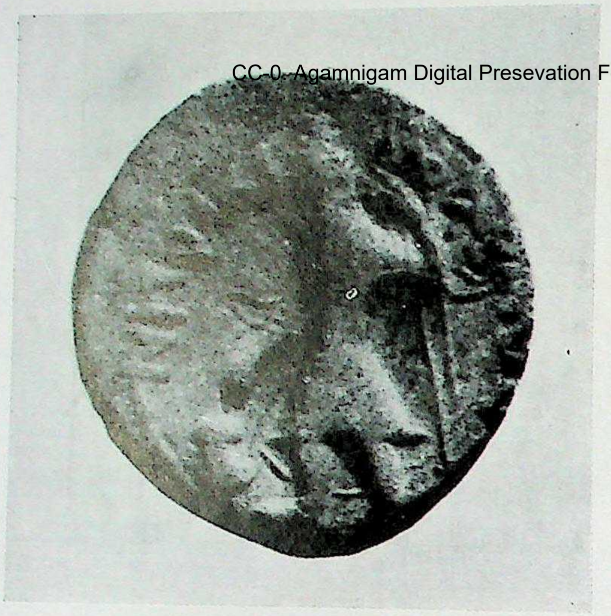


Fig. 84. Coin of Kanishka showing the king as sacrificer, Kushāṇa, 1st century A.D., National Museum.

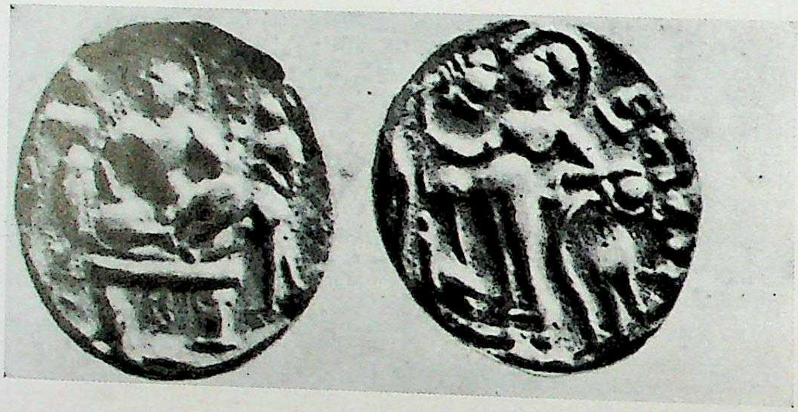


Fig. 86. King flanked by Śrī and Sarasvatī on the obverse and the queen as lady of the lotus and sweet utterance on the reverse, Gupta, 6th century A.D.

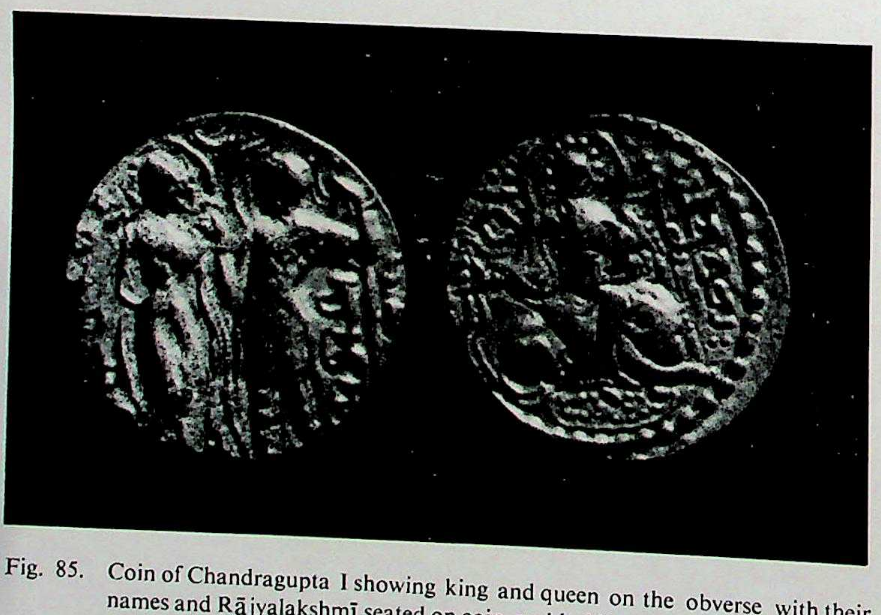


Fig. 85. Coin of Chandragupta I showing king and queen on the obverse with their names and Rājyalakshmī seated on coin and holding noose and cornucopia (*kośa* and *daṇḍa*) on the reverse, Gupta, 4th century A.D., National Museum.

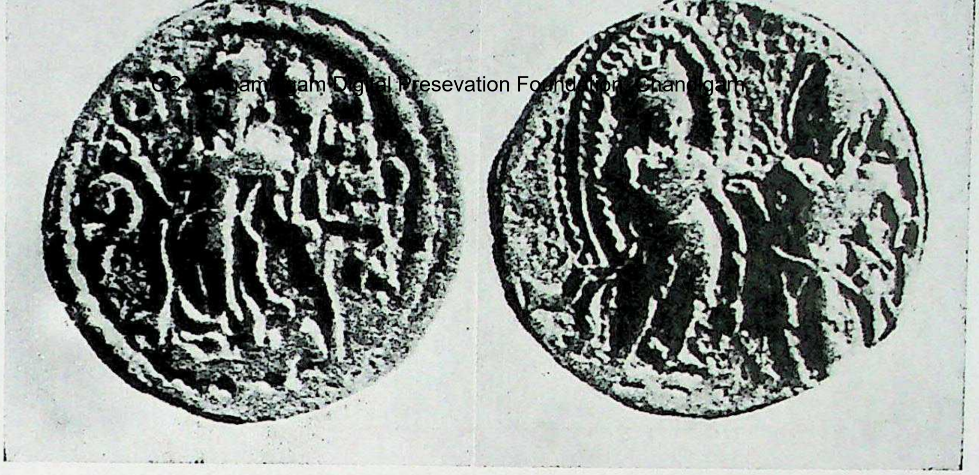


Fig. 87. *Chakravikrama* coin of Chandragupta II showing the king receiving the three *śaktis* from *Chakrapurusha* by adoring him, Gupta, 4th century A.D., National Museum.

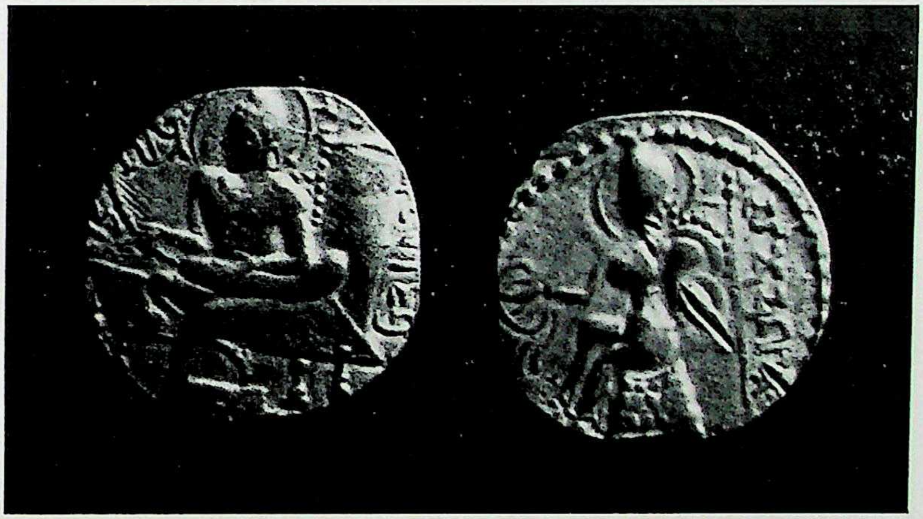


Fig. 88. Samudragupta playing the *vīṇā*, lyrist type, Gupta, 4th century A.D., National Museum.

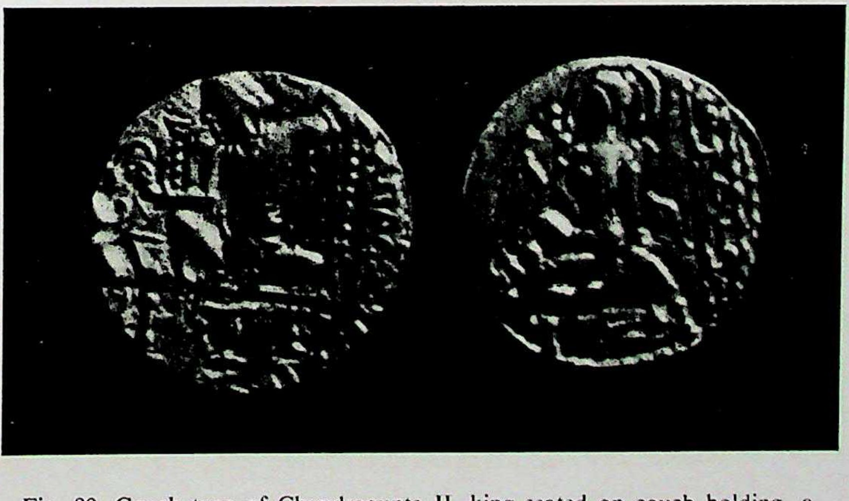


Fig. 89. Couch type of Chandragupta II, king seated on couch holding a sportive lotus *līlākamala*, with legend *rūpākṛiti* suggesting Prince Charming, Gupta, 4th century A.D., National Museum.

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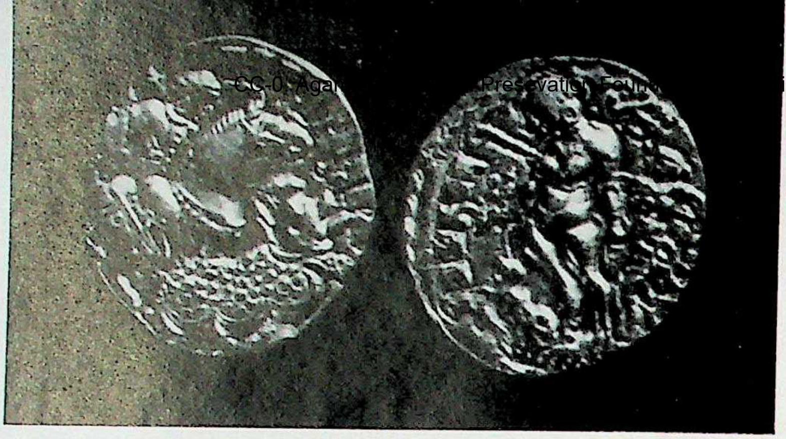


Fig. 90. *Khaḍga* type of Kumāragupta showing king hunting the rhinoceros on the obverse and Gaṅgā on *makara* on the reverse, Gupta, 5th century A.D., National Museum.

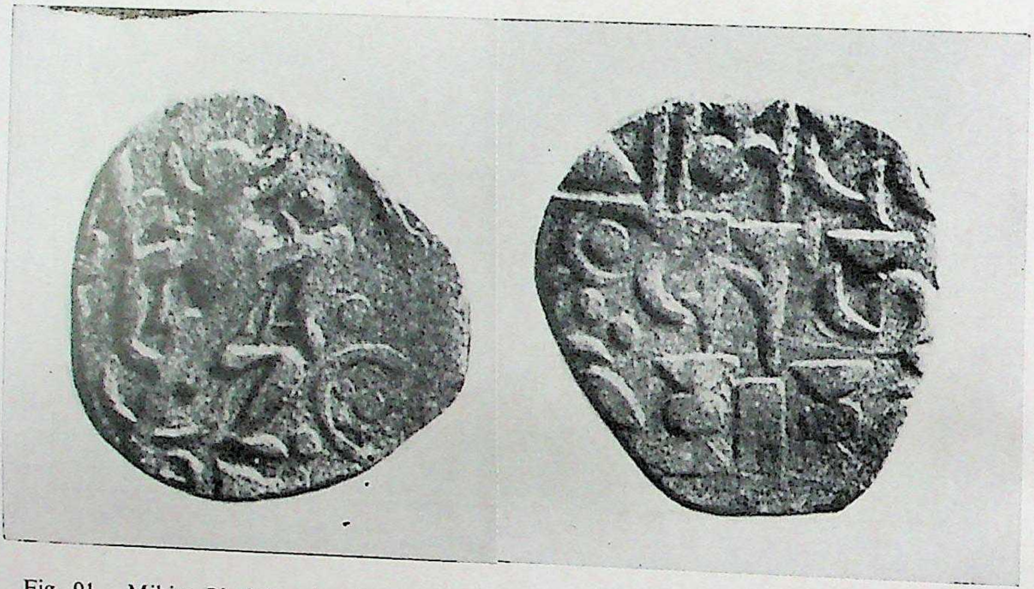


Fig. 91. Mihira Bhoja's coin with legend *Ādivarāha*, Gurjara Pratīhāra, 9th century A.D., National Museum.

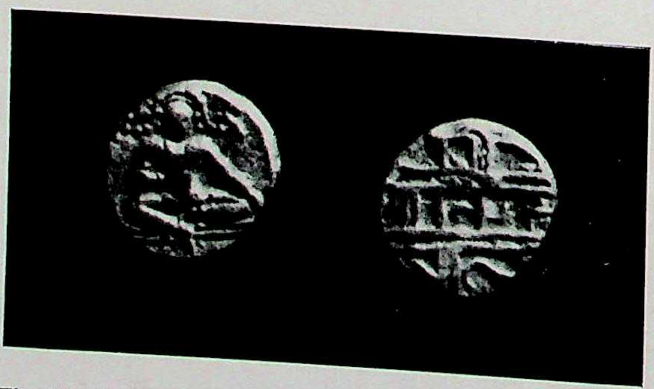


Fig. 92. Bālakṛishṇa coin of Kṛishṇadevarāya, Vijayanagar, 16th century A.D., National Museum.

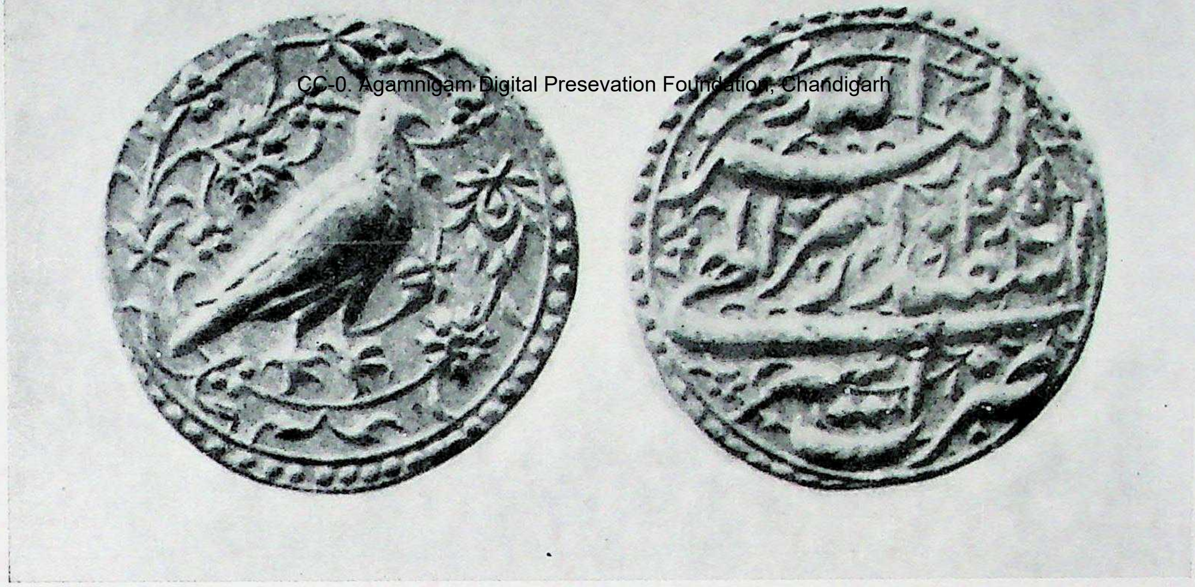


Fig. 93. Akbar's hawk type of coin, Mughal, 16th century A.D., National Museum.

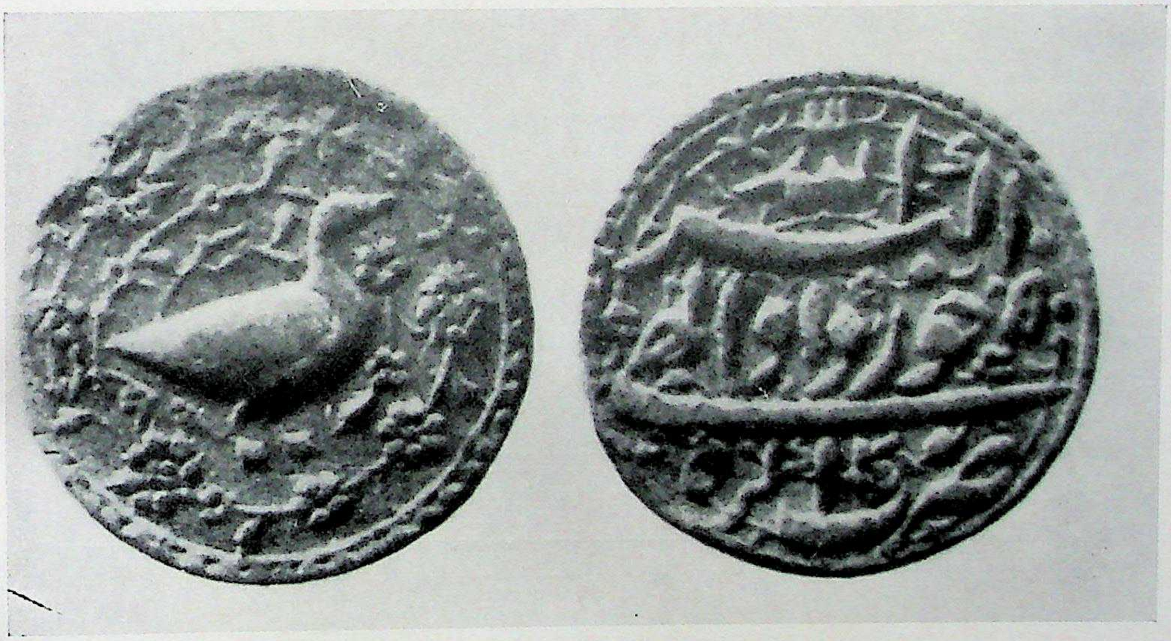


Fig. 94. Akbar's duck type of coin, Mughal, 16th century A.D., National Museum.

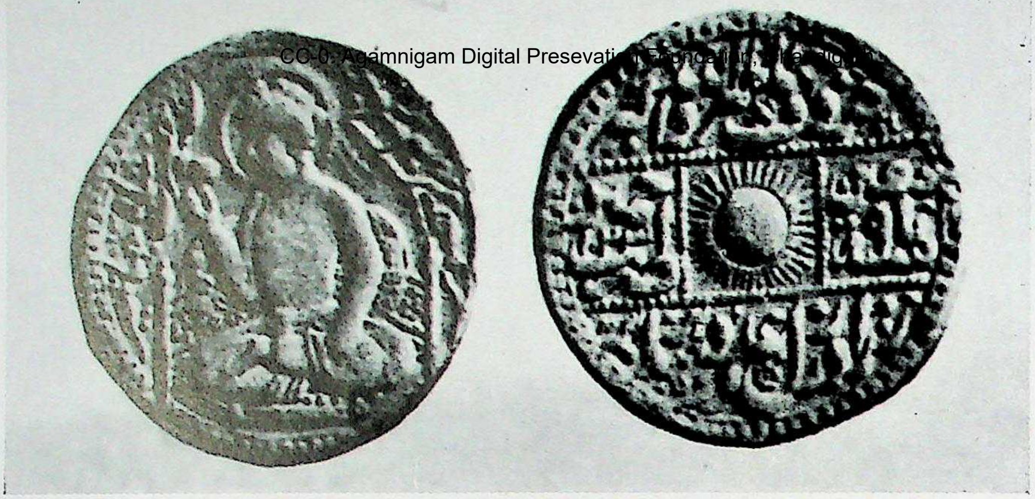


Fig. 95. Jehāngir's coin showing his portrait, Mughal, 16th century A.D., National Museum.

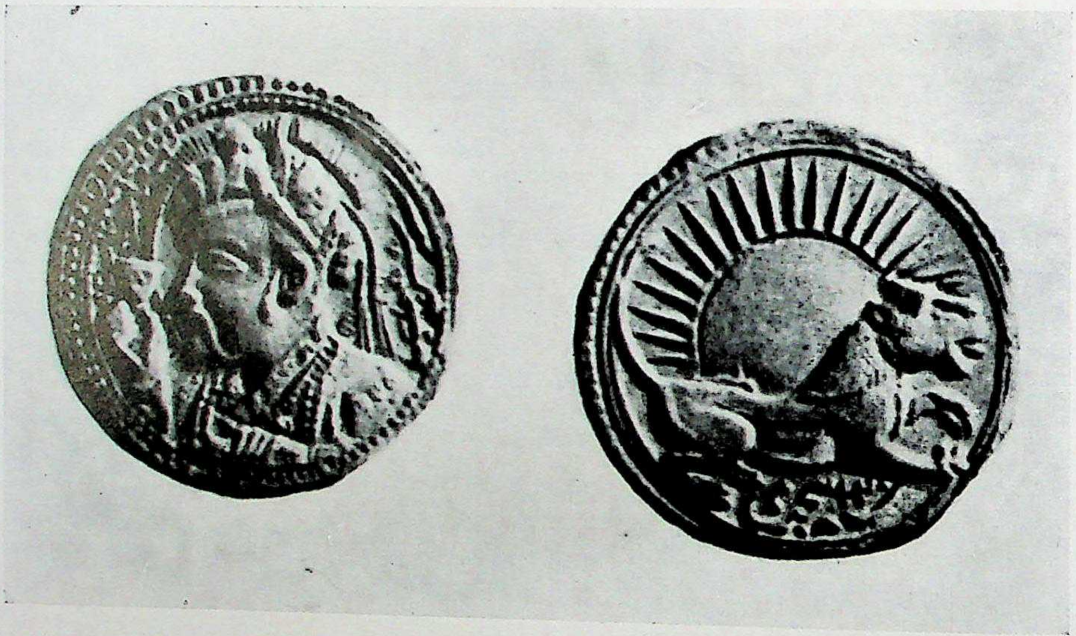


Fig. 96. Jehāngir's coin showing his portrait, Mughal, 16th century A.D., National Museum.

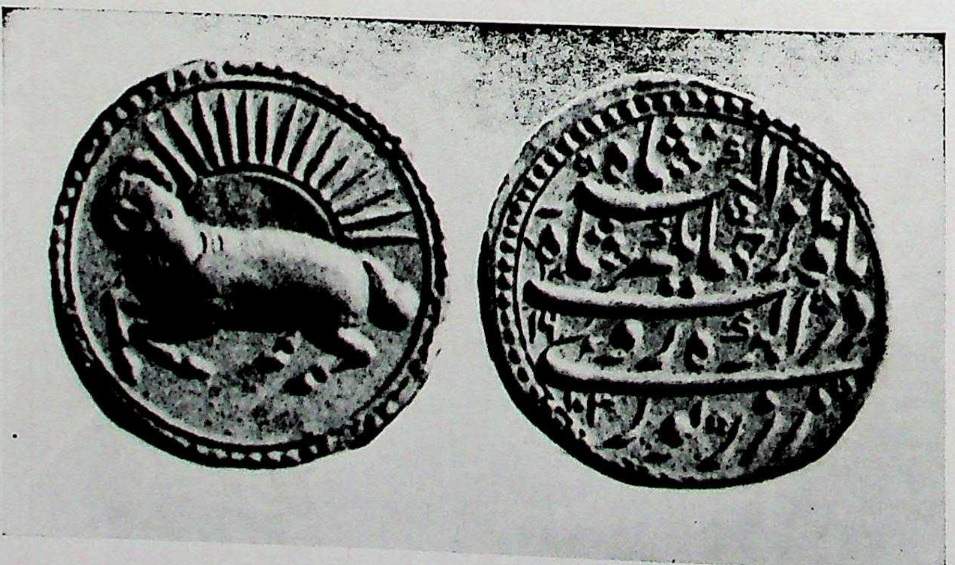
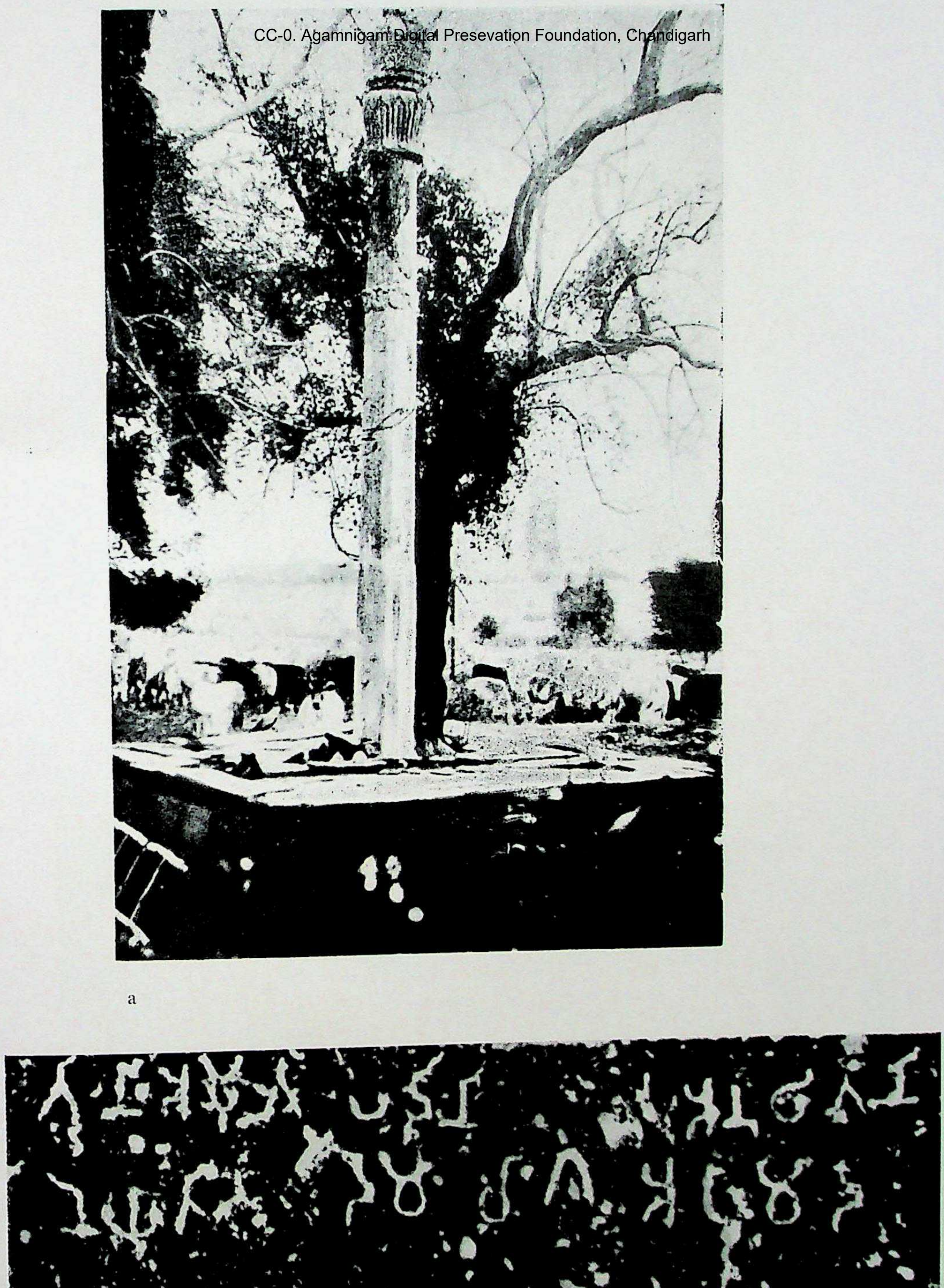


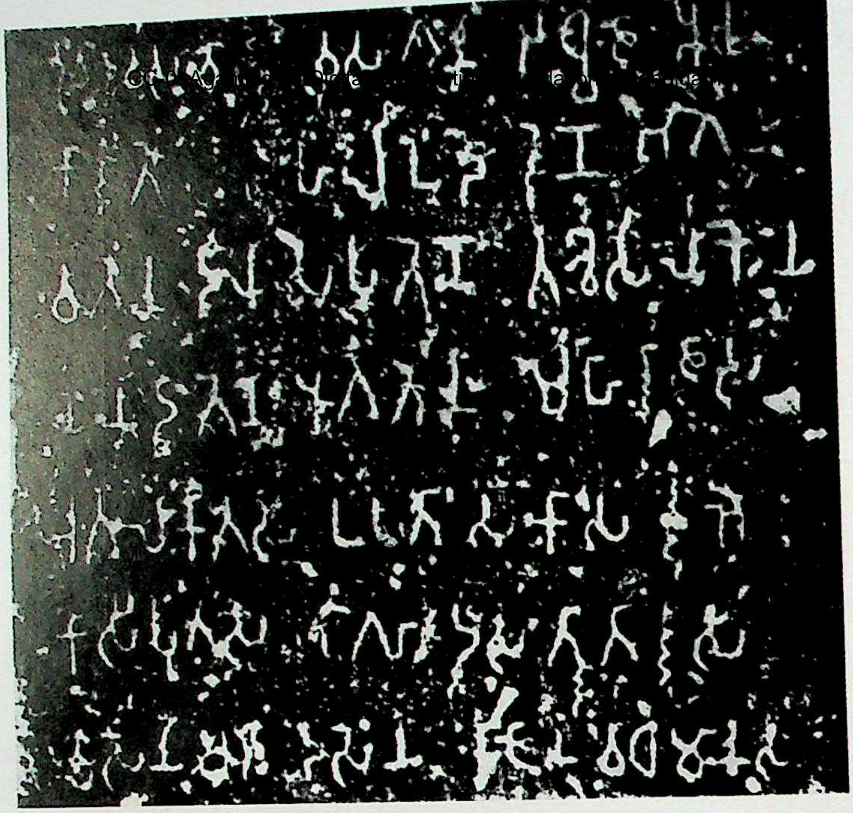
Fig. 97. Jehāngir's coin showing zodiacal symbols, Mughal, 16th century A.D., National Museum.



a

b

Fig. 99. a, Heliodorus column and b and c, the two inscriptions inset, Śuṅga, 2nd century B.C., Besnagar.



c

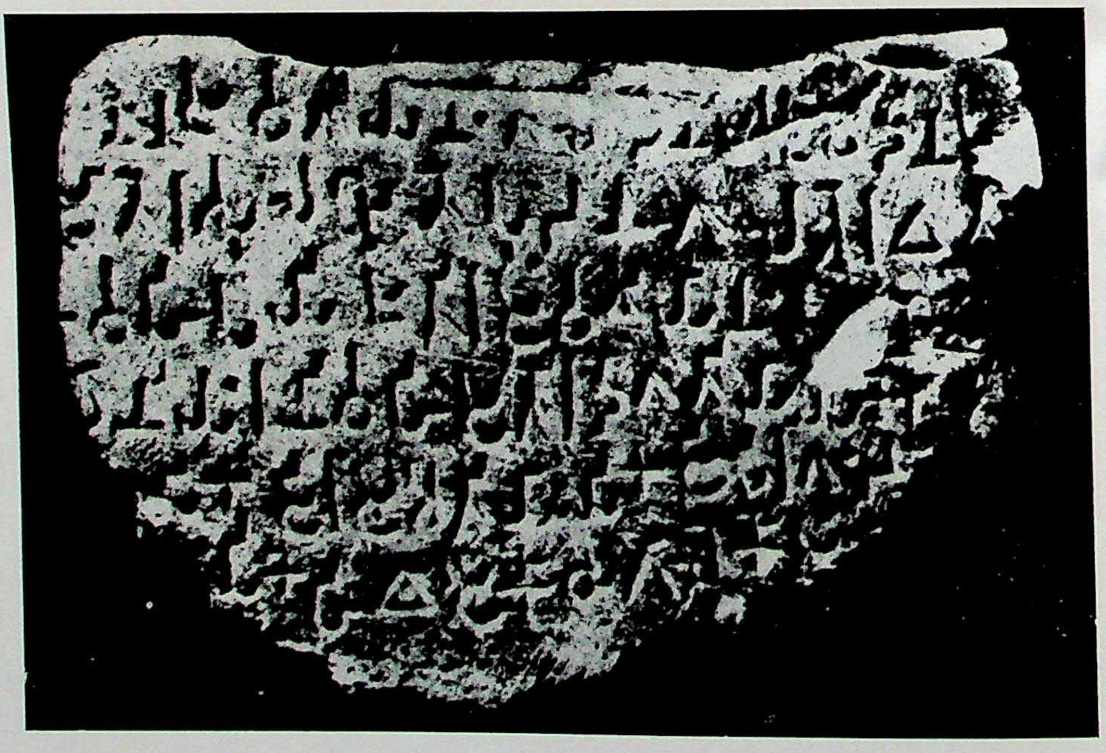


Fig. 98. Inscribed plaque from Mahāsthāngarh, Mauryan, 3rd century B.C.

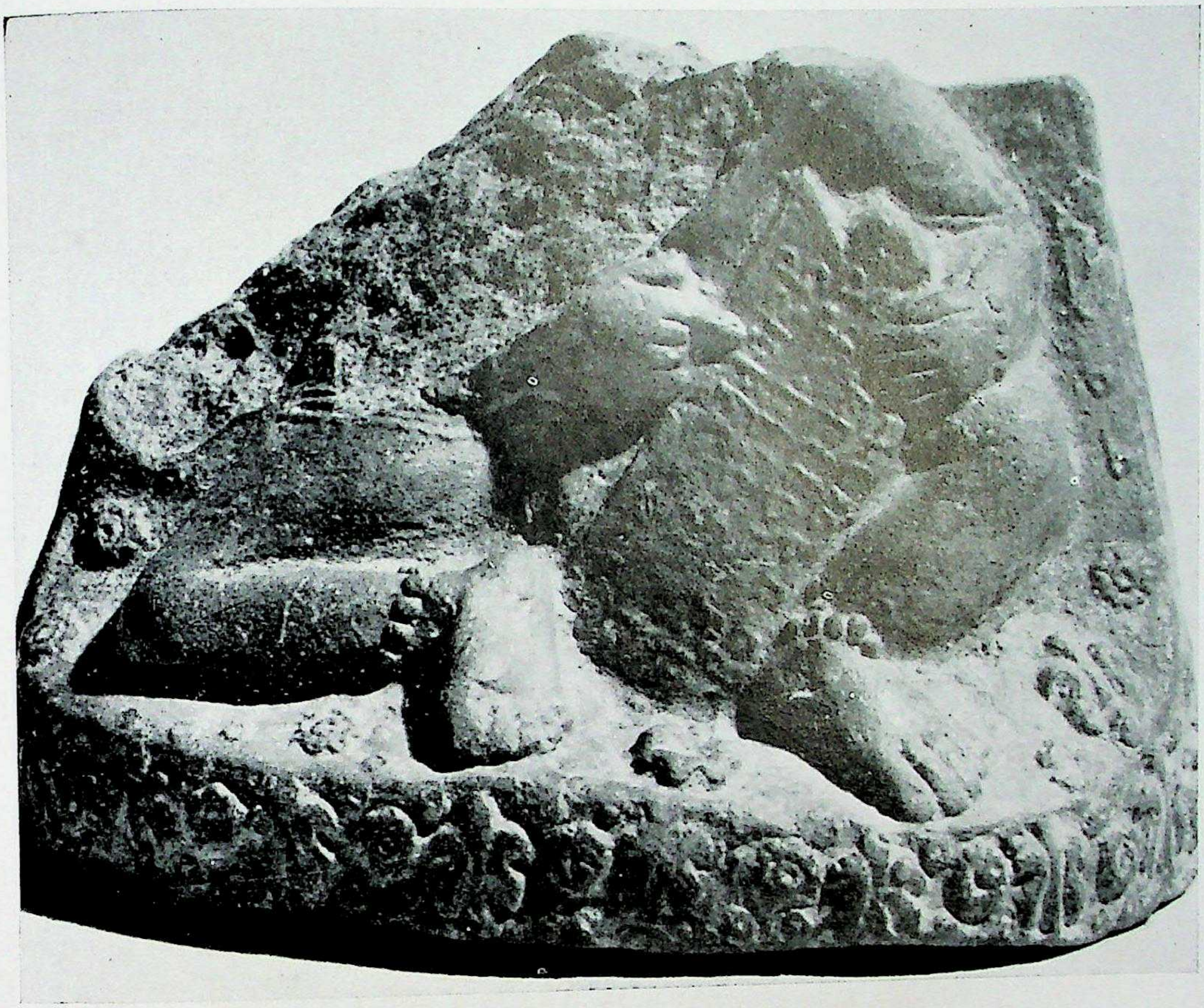


Fig. 100. Terracotta plaque showing a child writing the alphabet, Śuṅga, 2nd century B.C. Srughna, National Museum.

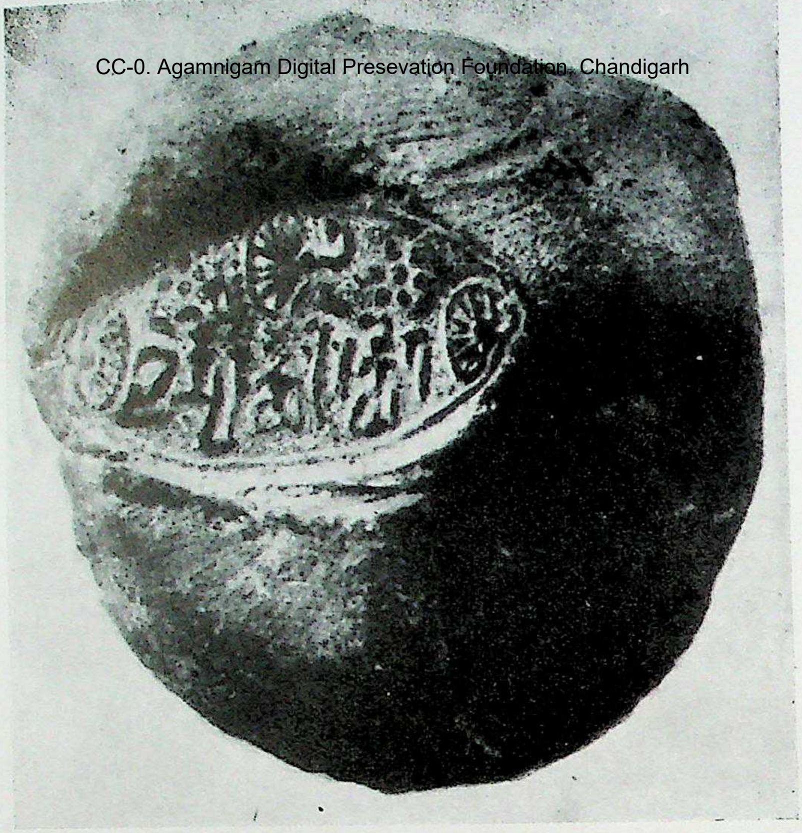


Fig. 101. Terracotta seal with legend *dharmo rakshati rakshitaḥ*, Gupta, 5th century A.D., Basārh.

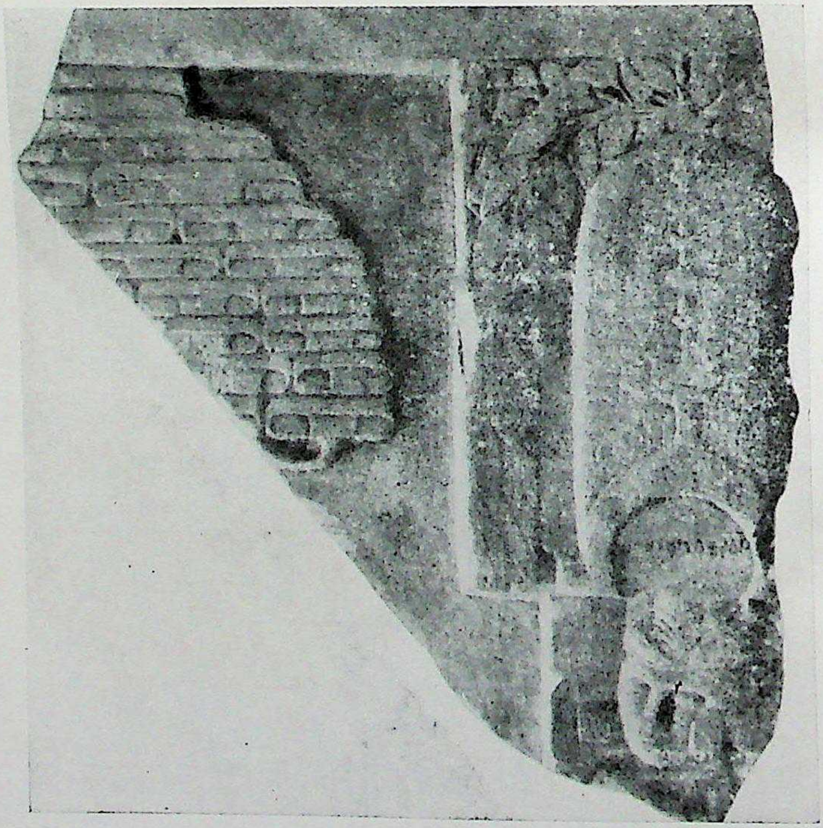


Fig. 102. Chandramukha Yaksha, Sātavāhana, 2nd century B.C., Amarāvatī, Madras Museum.

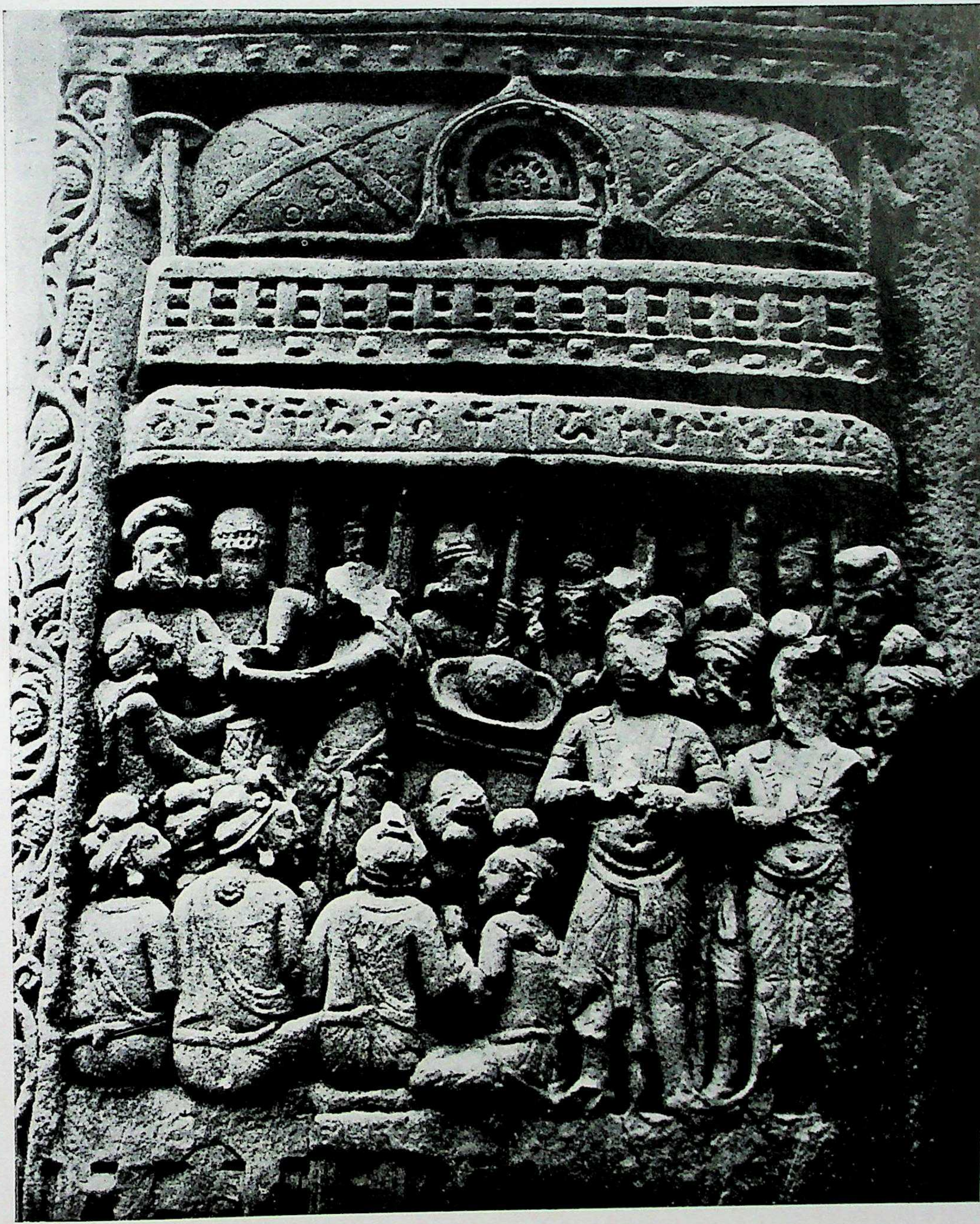


Fig. 103. Musical panel from *toraṇa* with the inscription mentioning the ivory carvers of Vidiśā as its sculptors, Sātavāhana, 2nd-1st century B.C., Sāñchī.

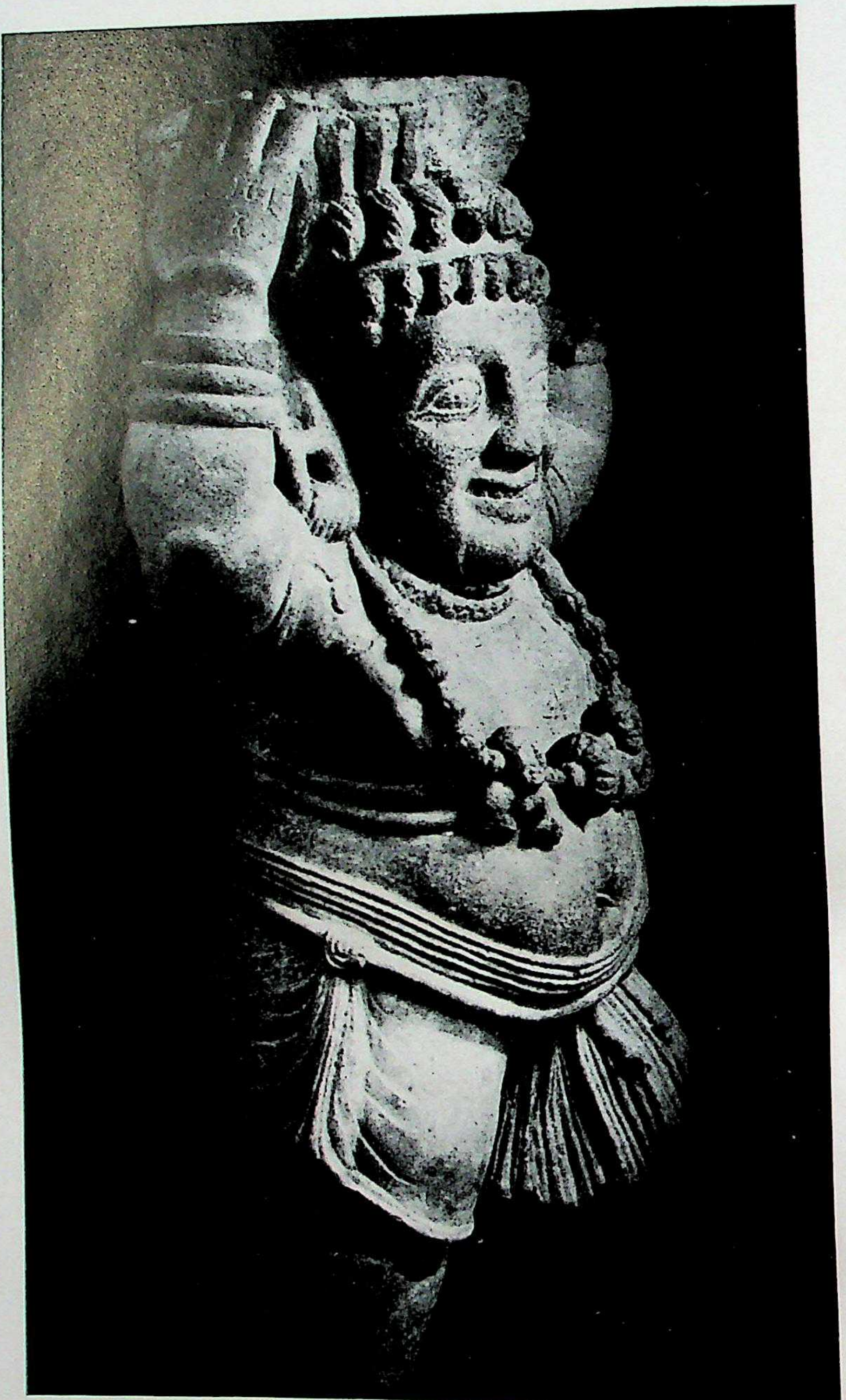


Fig. 104. Yaksha with inscription mentioning the goldsmith Kanha as the sculptor who fashioned it. Satavāhana, 2nd centuryB.C., Pītalkhora.

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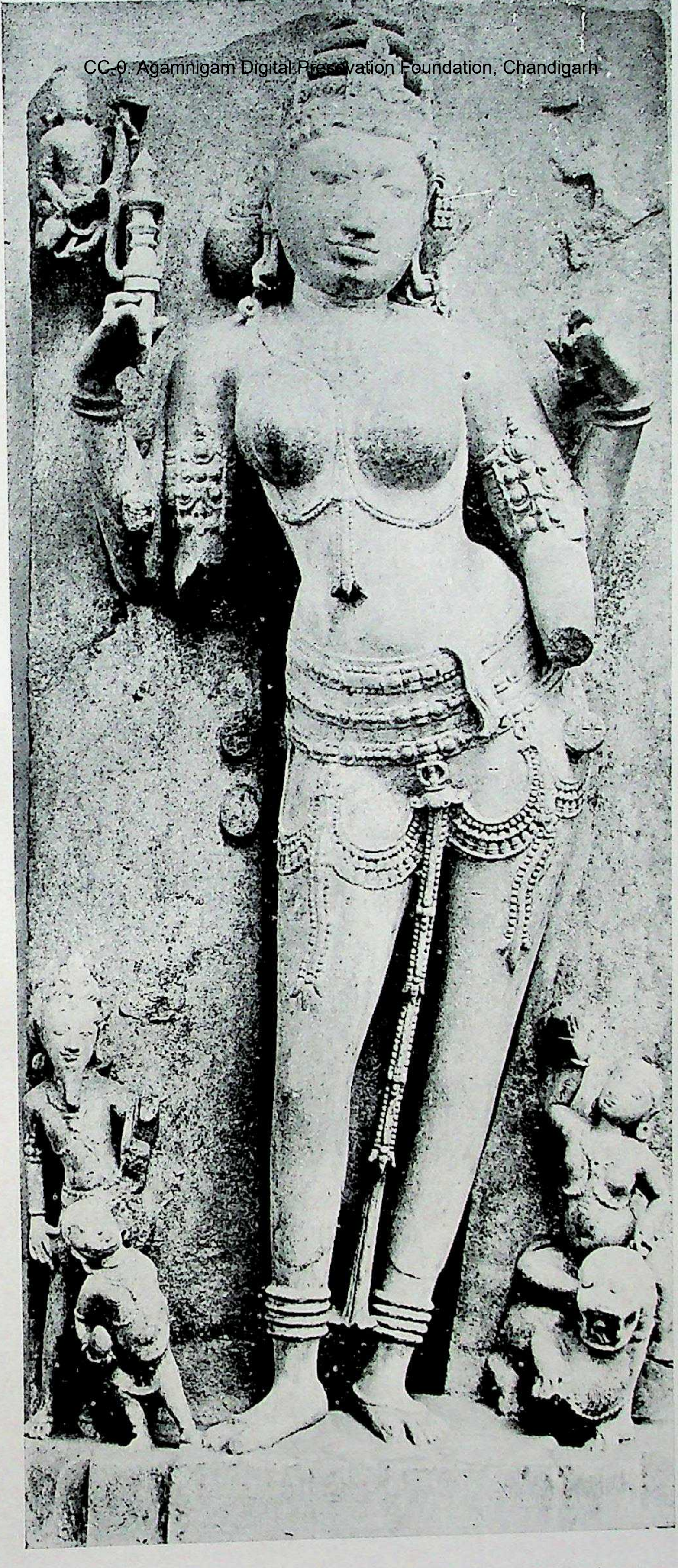

Fig. 105. Inscribed Sarasvatī installed by Bhoja in his University at Dhārā, Paramāra, 11th century A.D., British Museum.

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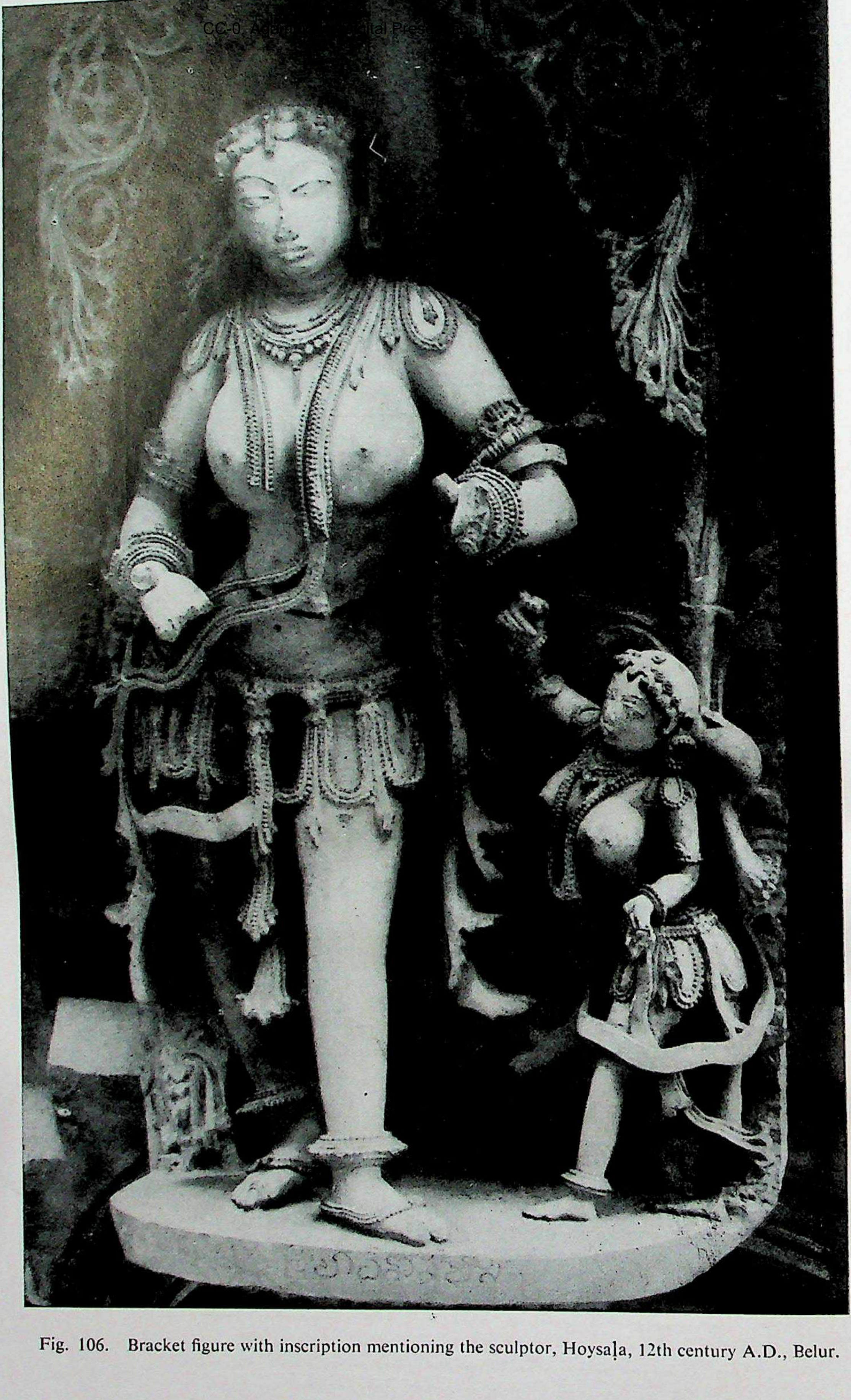

Fig. 106. Bracket figure with inscription mentioning the sculptor, Hoysaḷa, 12th century A.D., Belur.

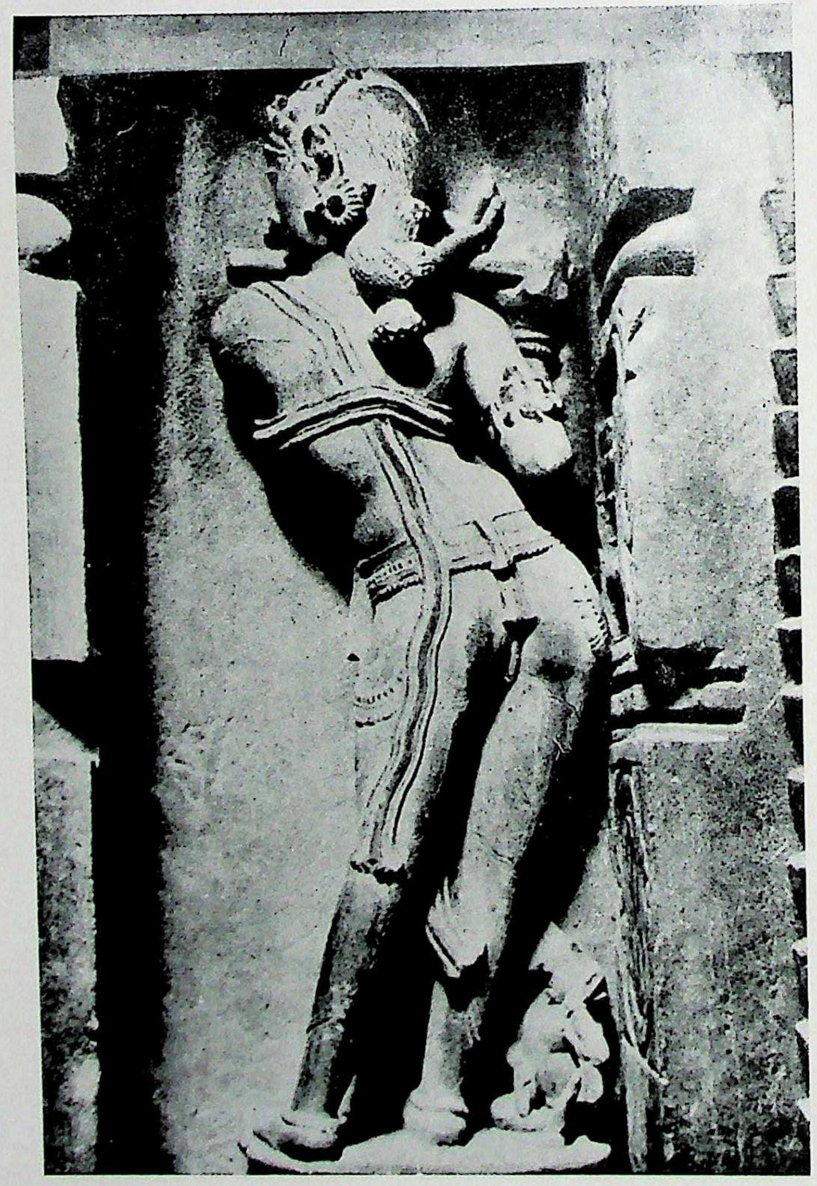

Fig. 107. Musician playing flute with inscription mentioning the sculptor, Chandella, 11th century A.D., Khajuraho.

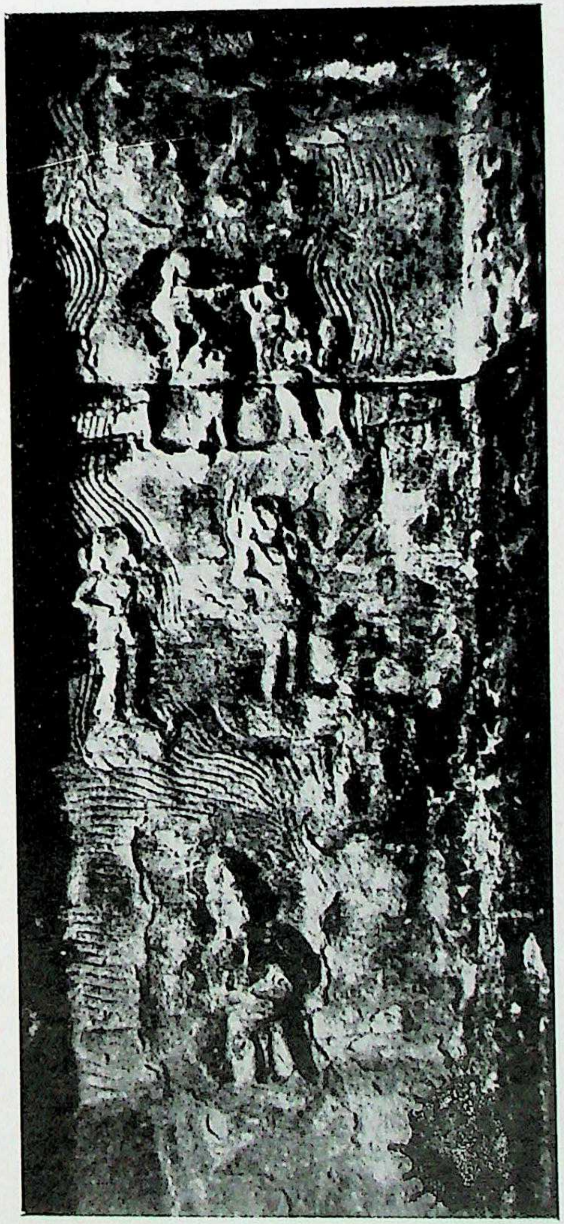

Fig. 108. Prayāga, confluence of the sacred rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā, Gupta, 4th century A.D., Udayagiri.

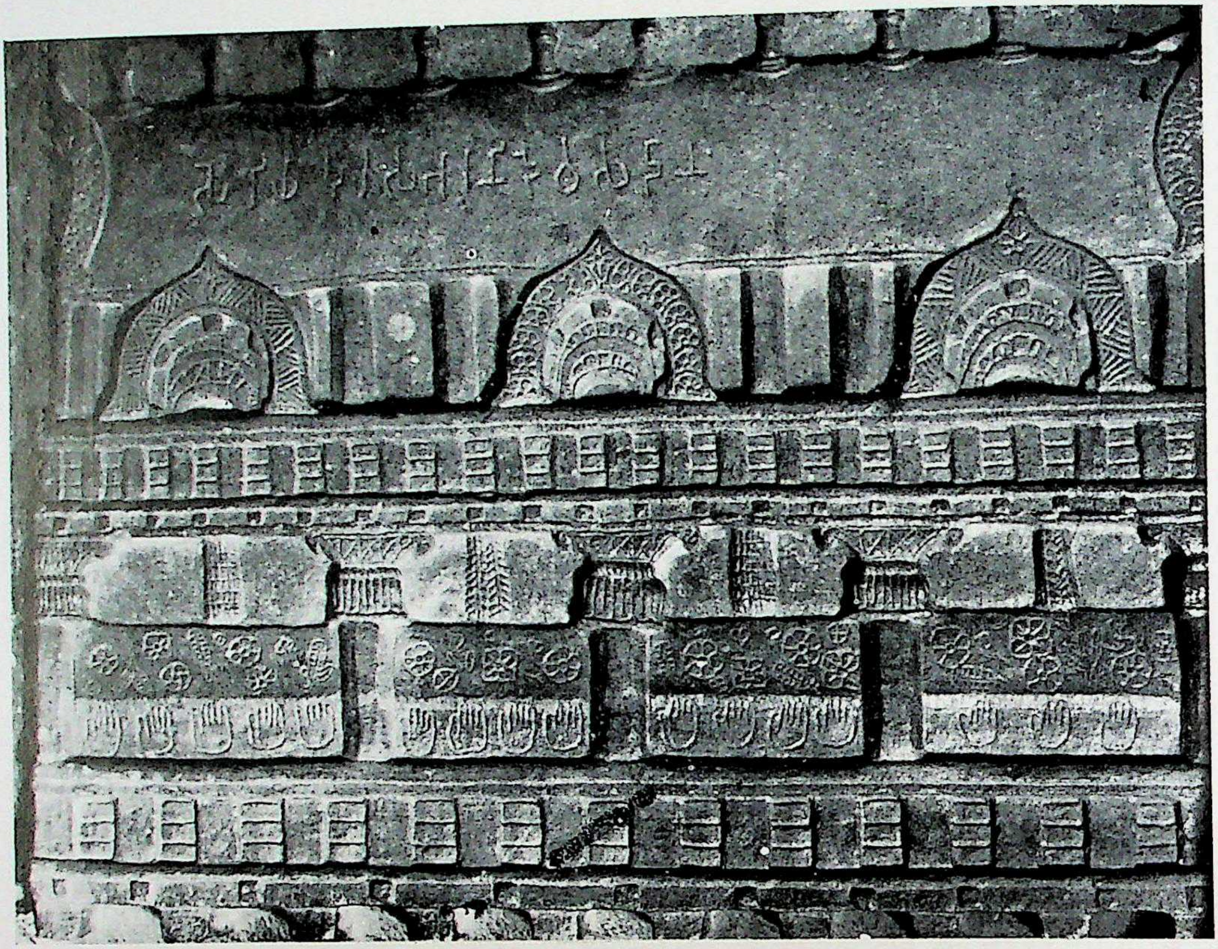

Fig. 109. *Pishṭapañchāṅgula* or palm and finger mark decoration, Śuṅga, 2nd century B.C., Bhārhut, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

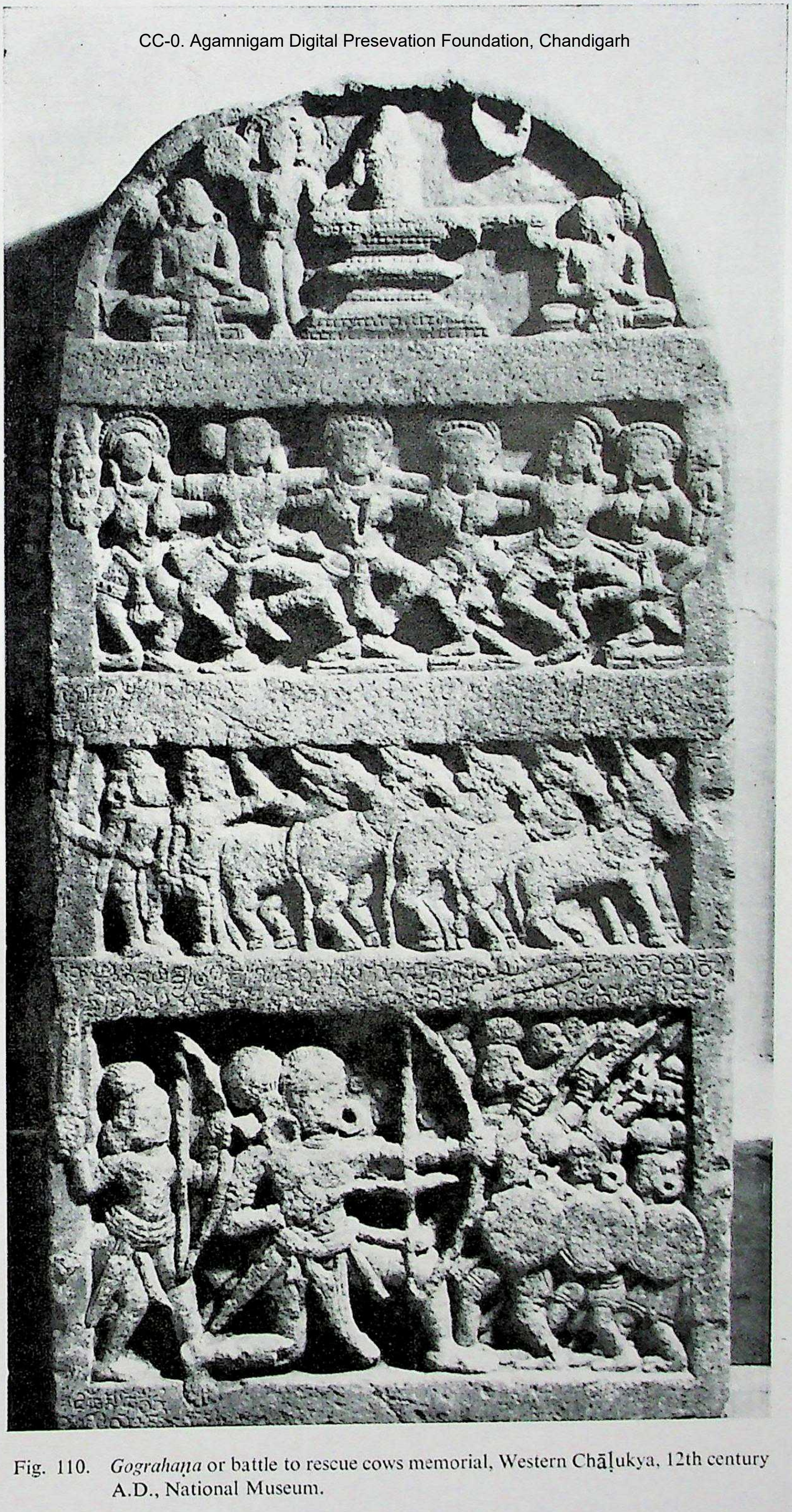

Fig. 110. *Gograhaṇa* or battle to rescue cows memorial, Western Chāḷukya, 12th century A.D., National Museum.

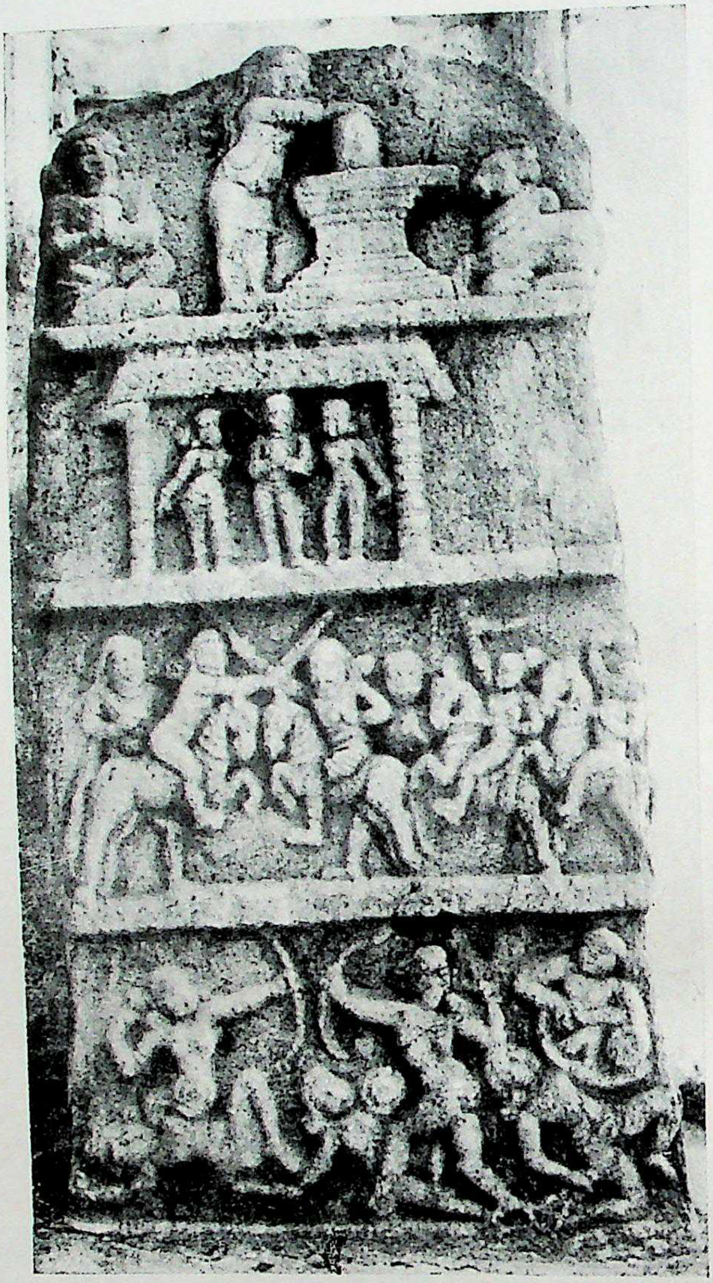

Fig. 111. Hero stone showing the hero ascending to heaven in the company of nymphs, Choḷa, 11th century A.D.

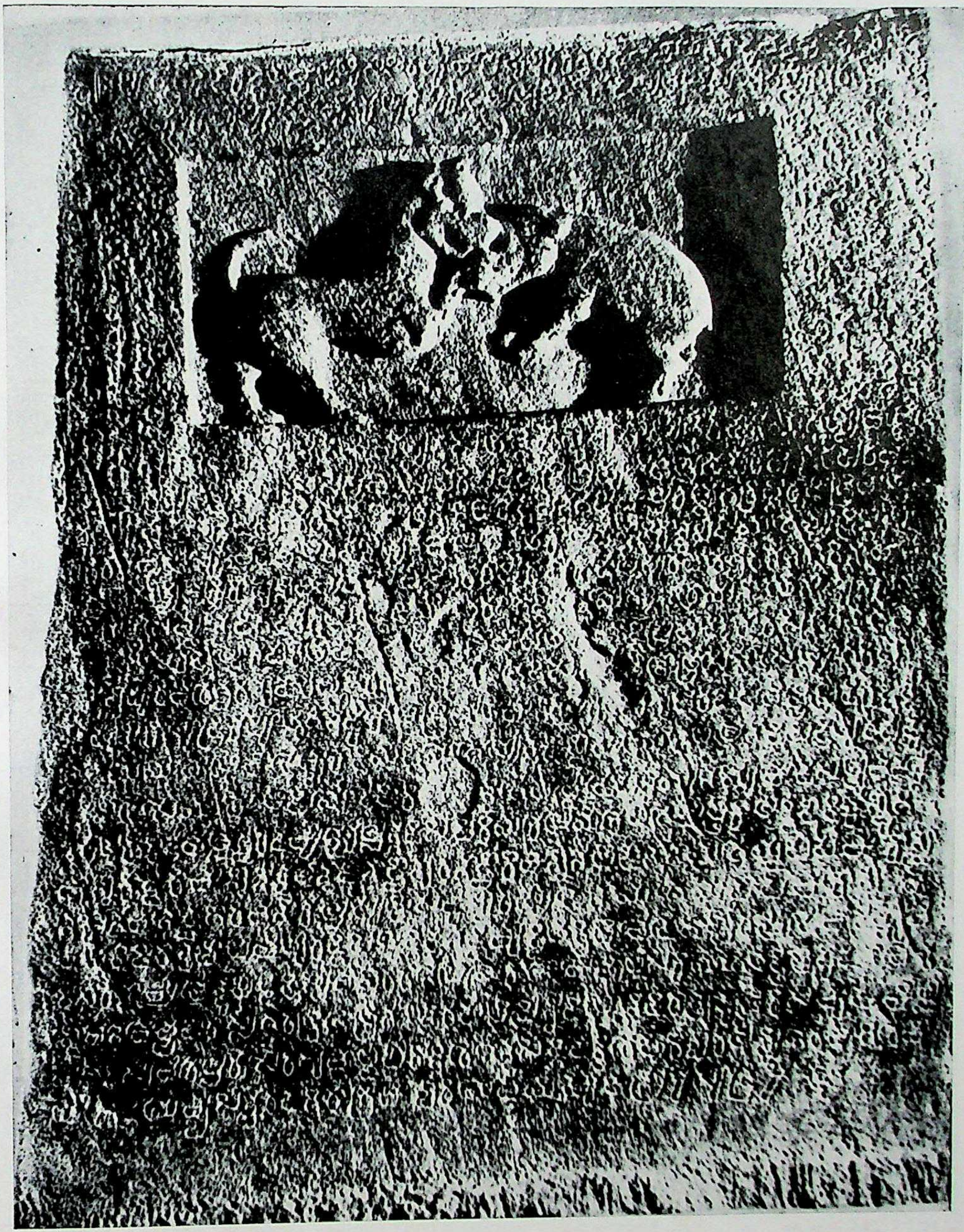

Fig. 112. Memorial for a hound with inscription describing the valour of the beast, Western Gaṅga, 10th century A.D. Bangalore Museum.

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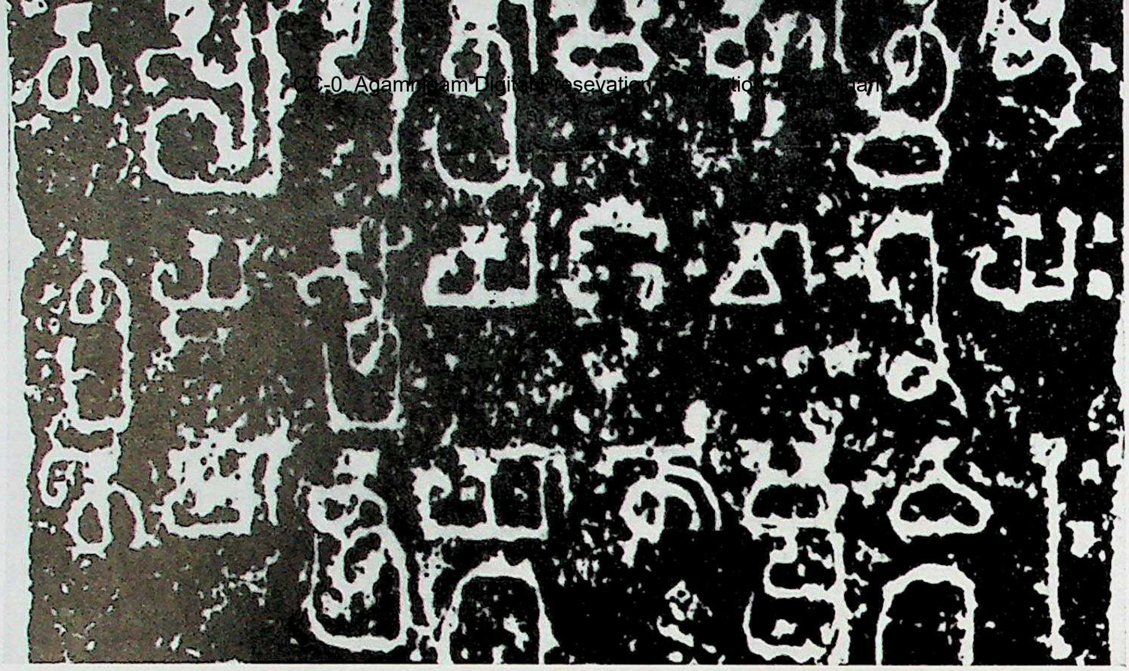

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Fig. 124. The line '*trayas traya ivāgnayaḥ*' from the *yūpa* inscription of Kutei, Borneo, 4th-5th century A.D., Jakarta Museum. Indonesia.

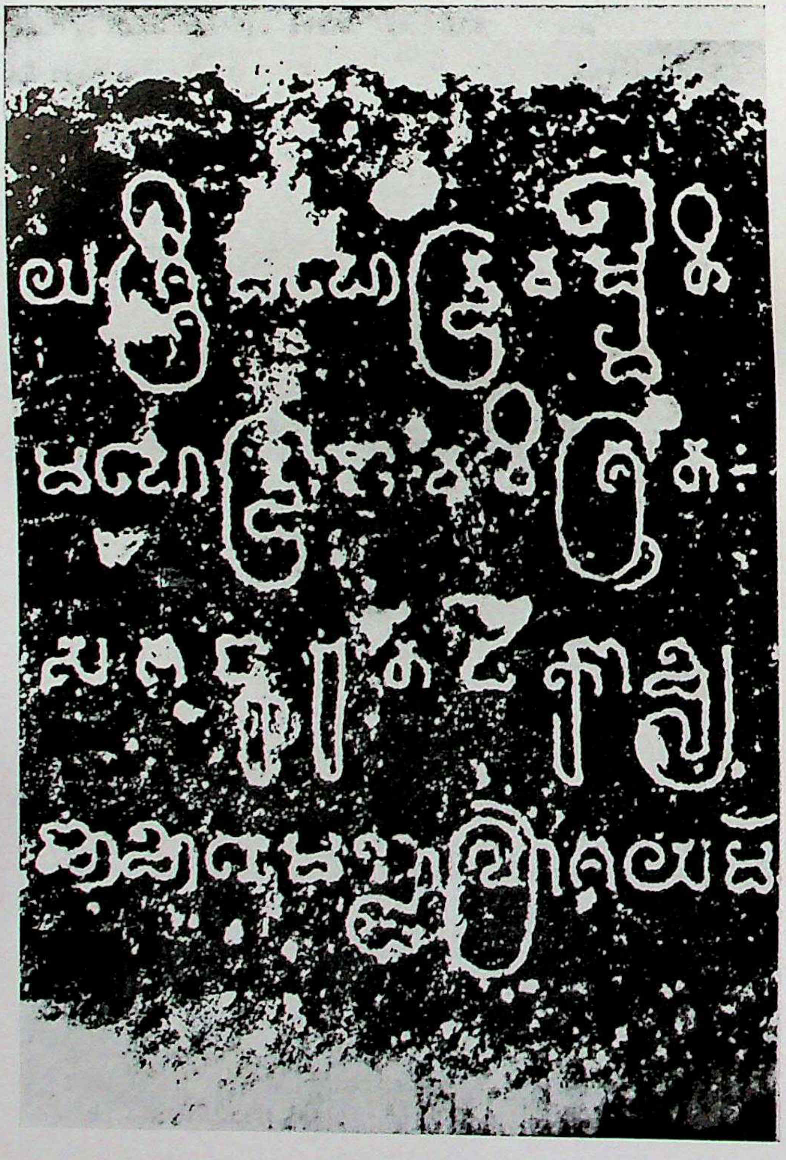
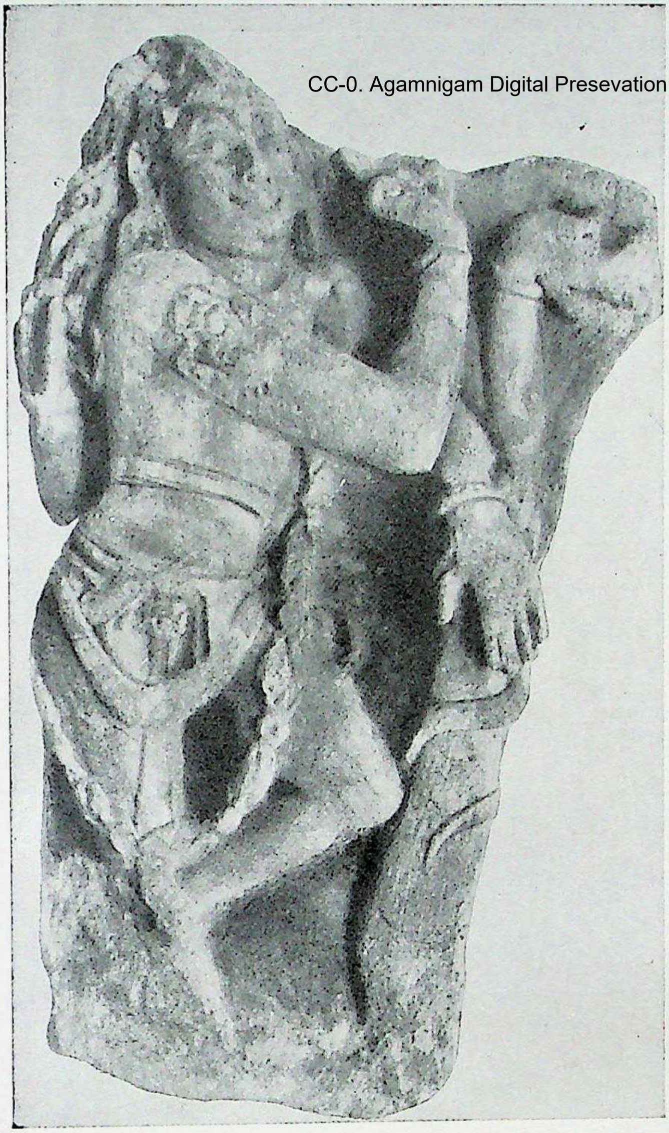


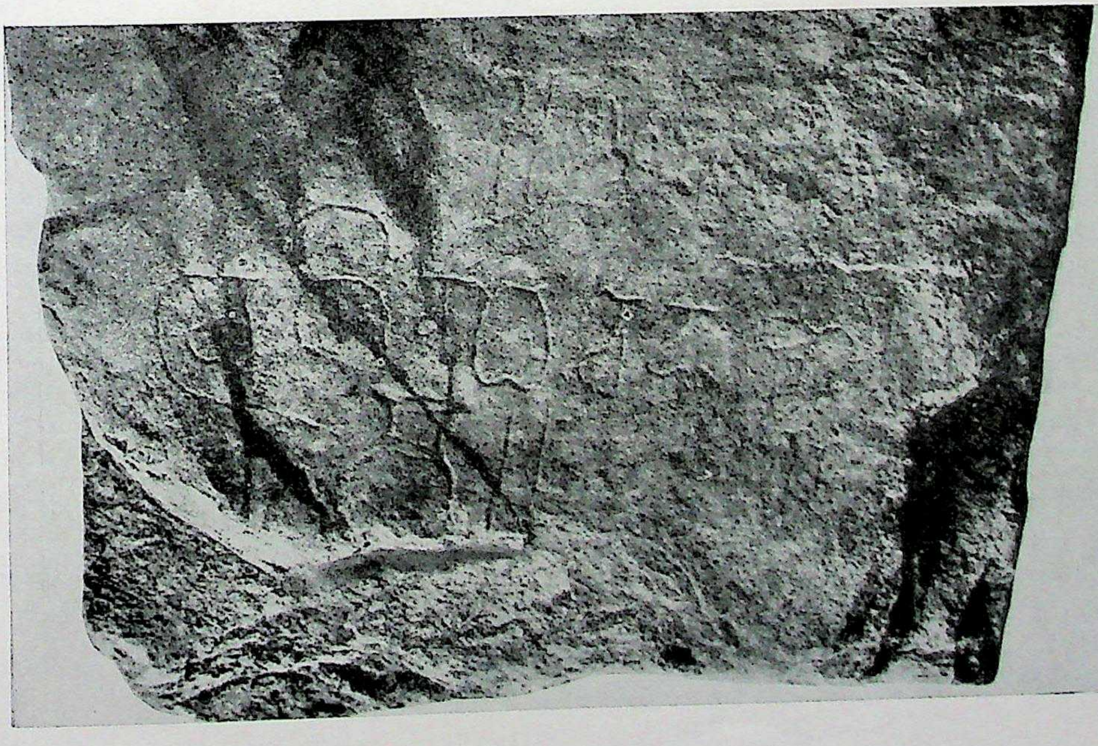
Fig. 123.
Mahendravarman's Śaṅkara-taṭāka inscription, 6th century A.D., Prasat Chongsra Chaeng, Bangkok Museum.



b

Fig. 128. a. The line *veginathuvelaṇḍu* inscribed on back of dvārapāla.

b. *Dvārapāla*, Eastern Chalukya, 7th century A.D., Madras Museum.



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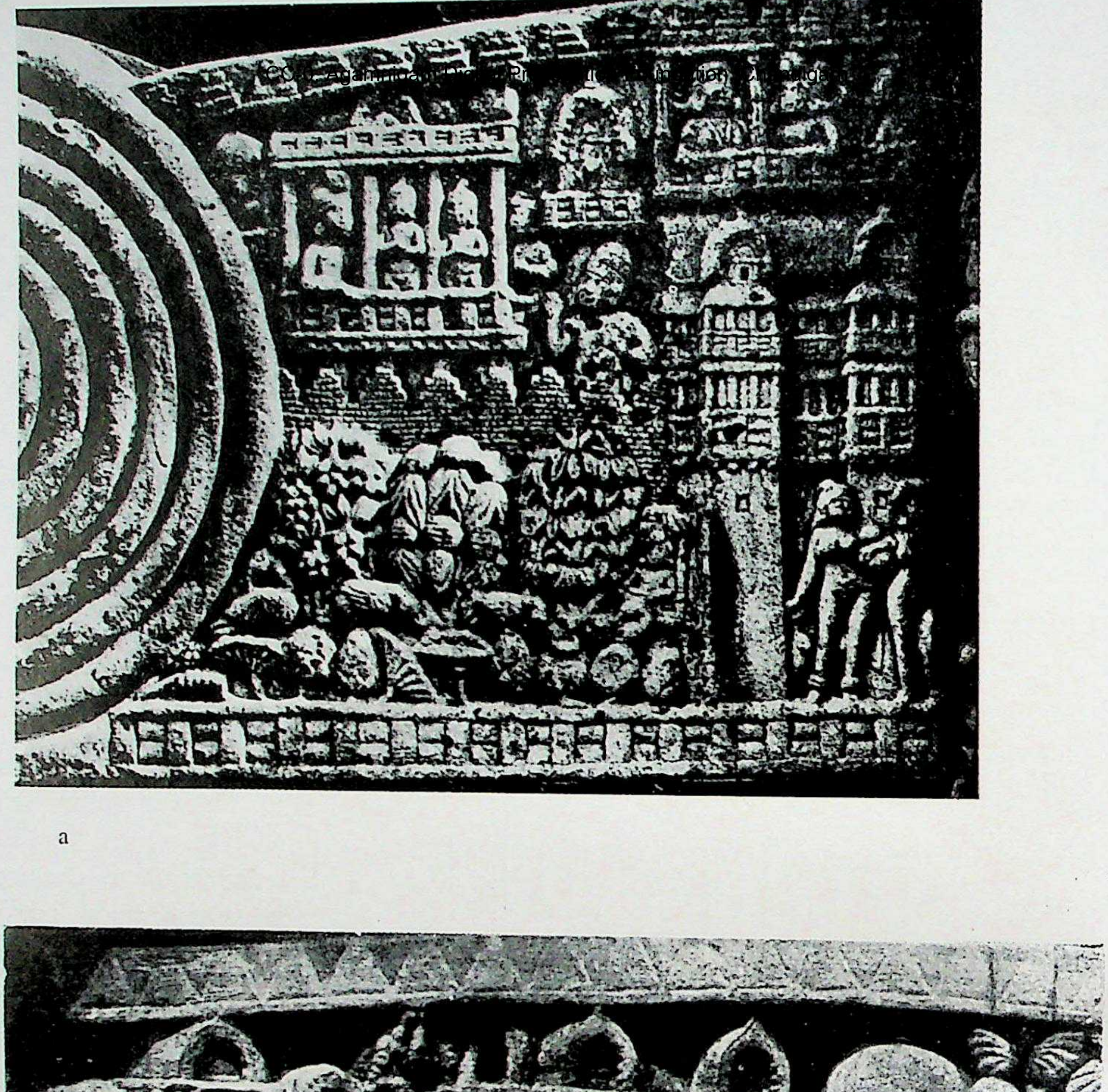

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Fig. 129. *Parikhā* and *prākāra*, Sātavāhana, 2nd century B.C., Sañchī.

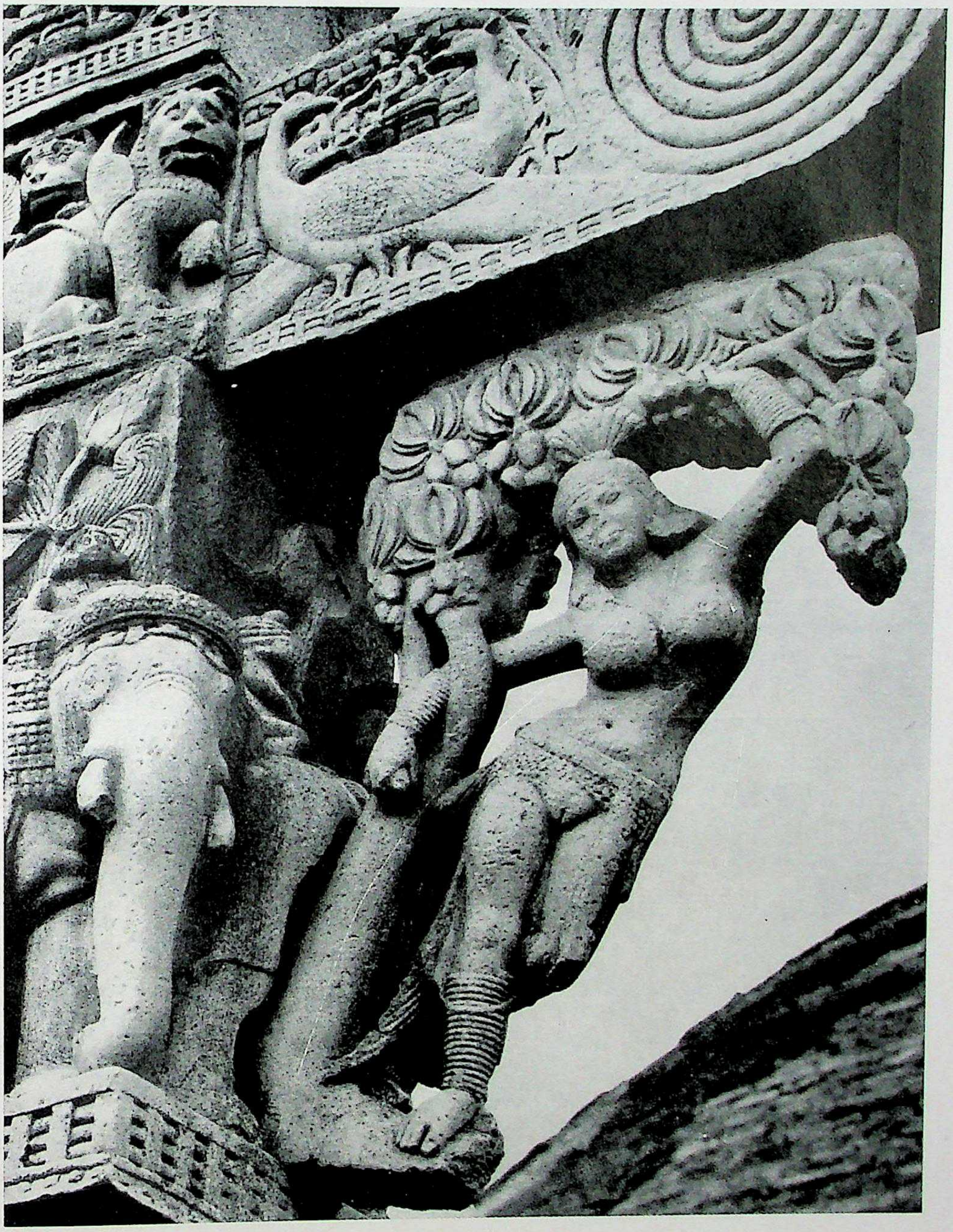


Fig. 132. *Toraṇasālabhañjikā*, Sātavāhana, 2nd century B.C., Sāñchī.

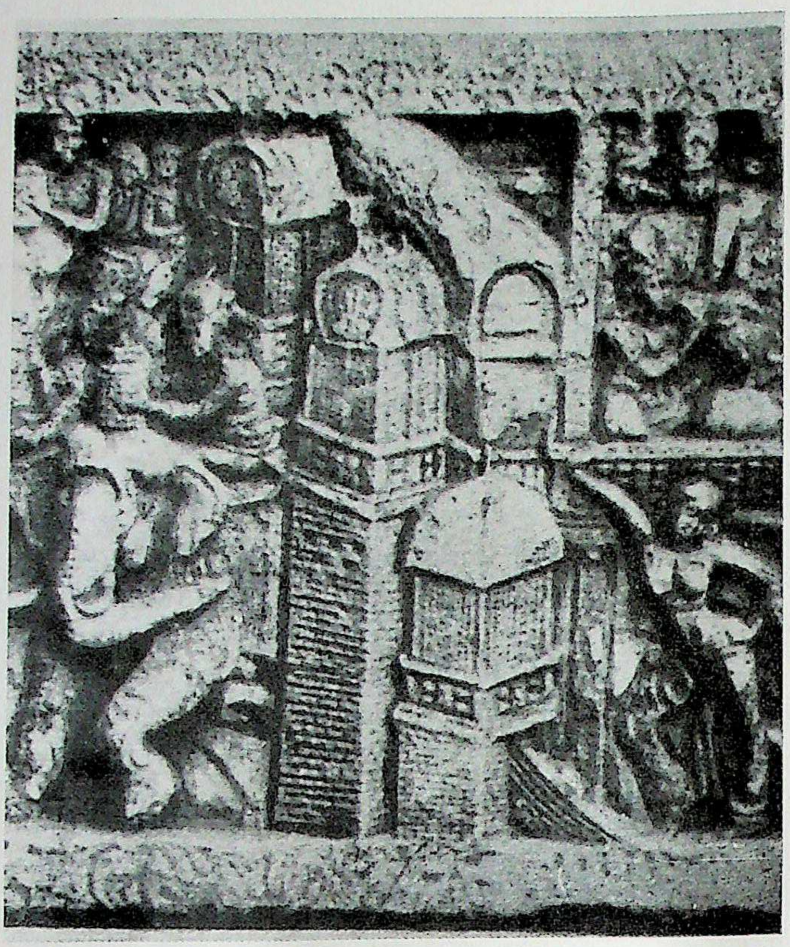


Fig. 130. City gateway, Sātavāhana, 2nd century A.D., Amarāvatī, Madras Museum.

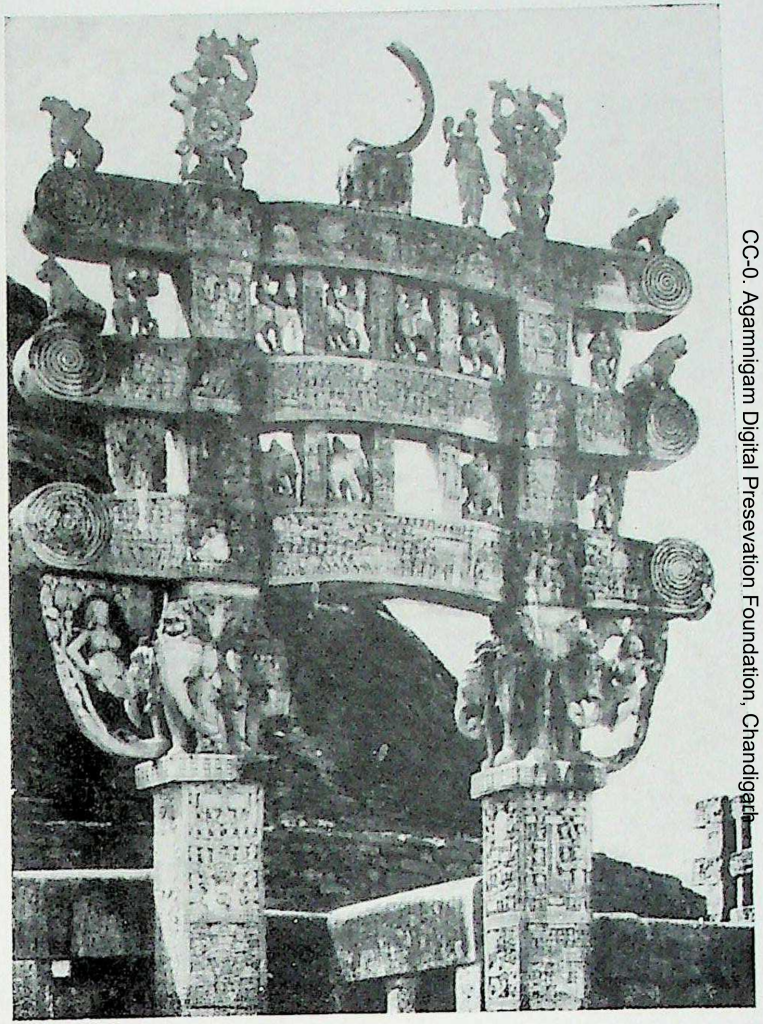


Fig. 131. *Toraṇa* and *toraṇasālabhañjikā*, Sātavāhana, 2nd century B.C., Sāñchī.

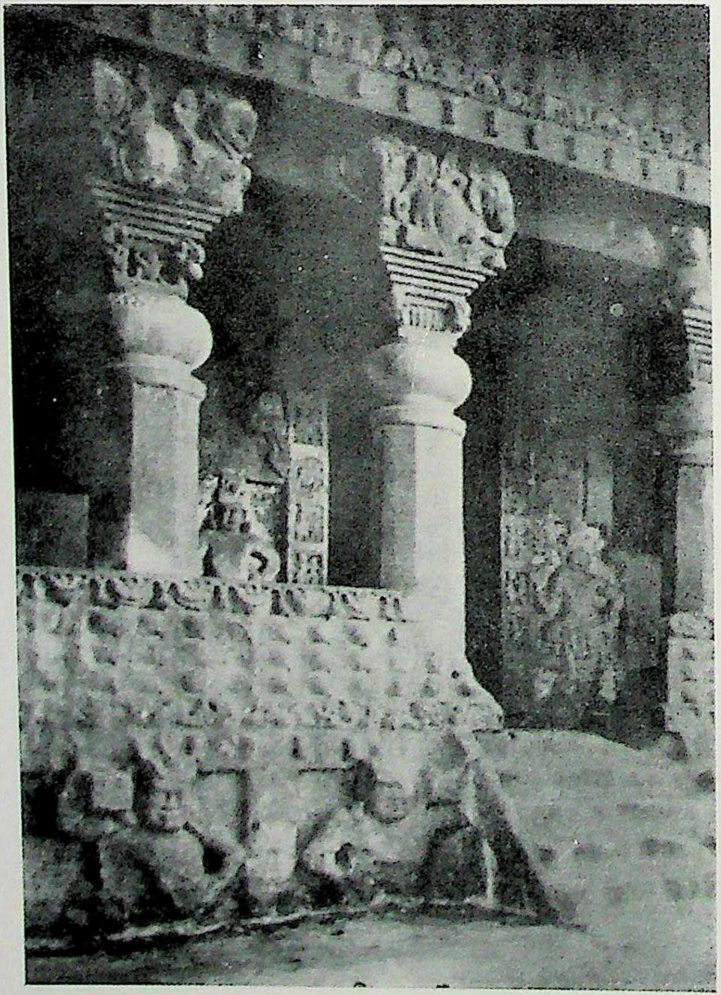


Fig. 133. Rākshasa caryatids, cave 3, Sātavāhana, 2nd century B.C. Nasik.

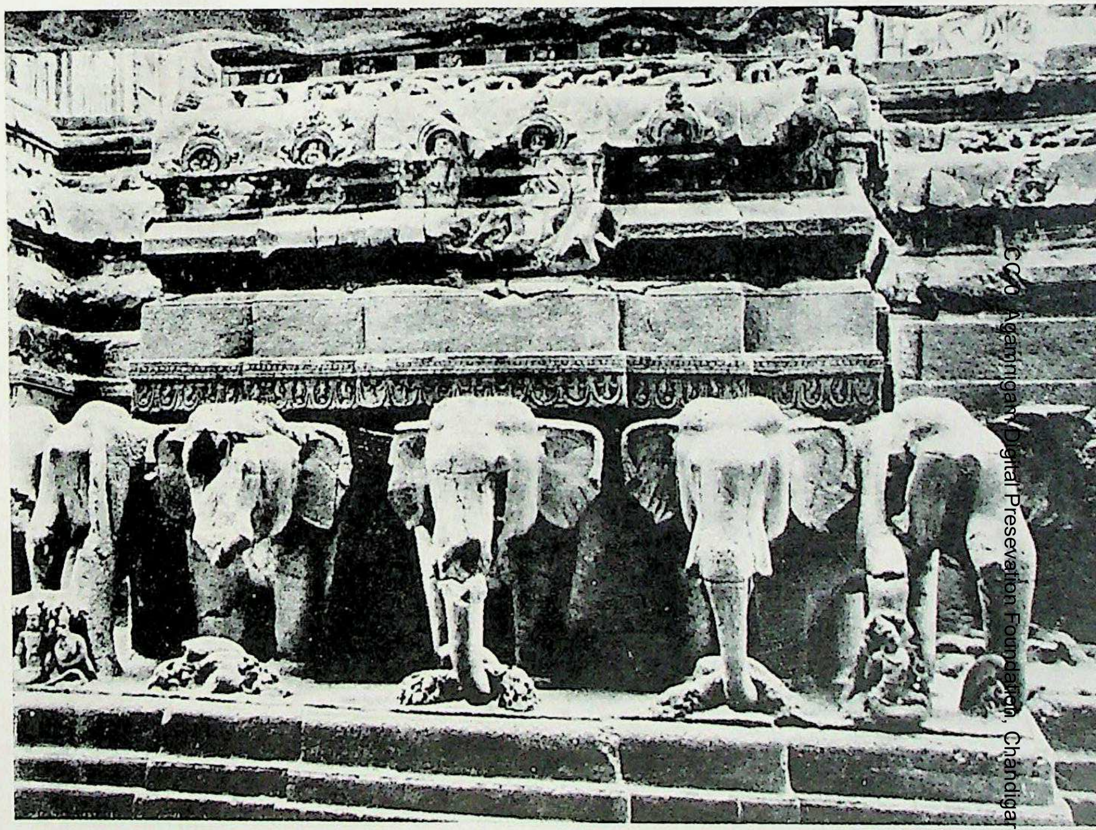


Fig. 134. Row of elephants as caryatids, Kailāsa temple, Rāsṭrakūṭa, 8th century A.D., Ellora.

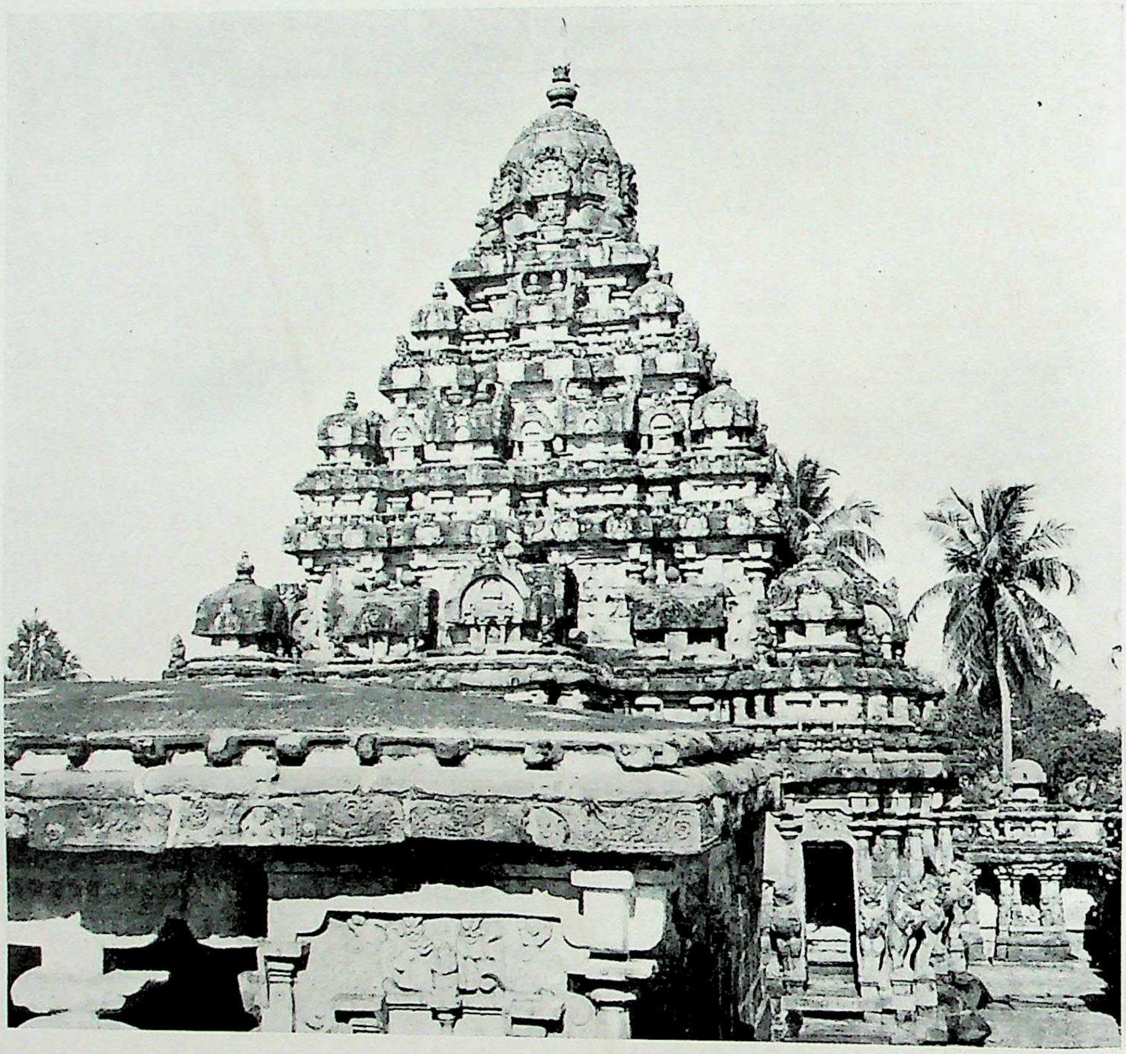


Fig. 135. Kailasanātha temple, Pallava, 7th century A.D., Kāñchīpuram.

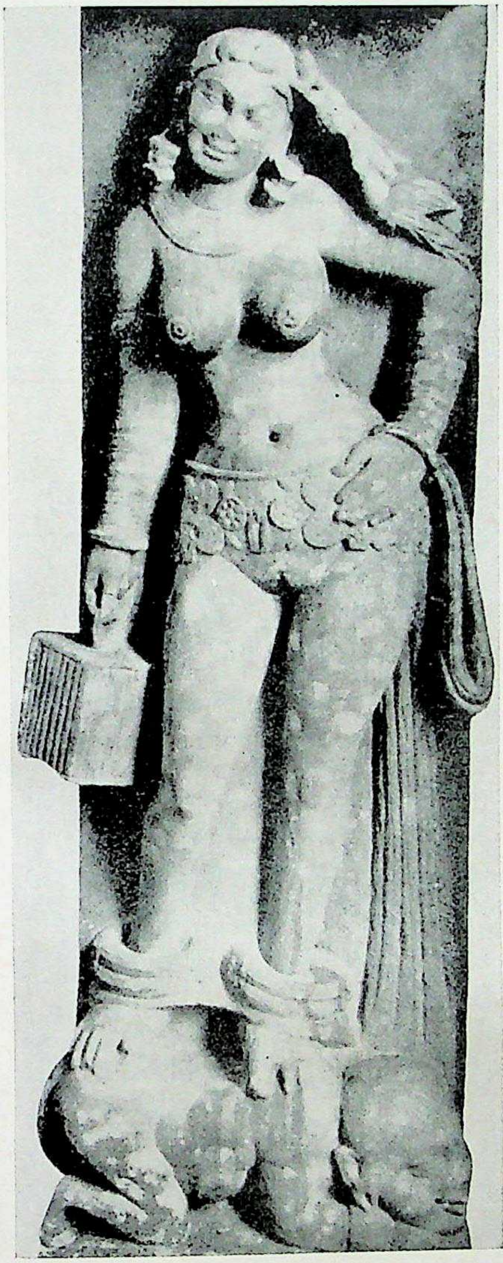


Fig. 137. Yakshī on pillar, Kushāṇa, 2nd century A.D., Bhuteśar, Mathurā.

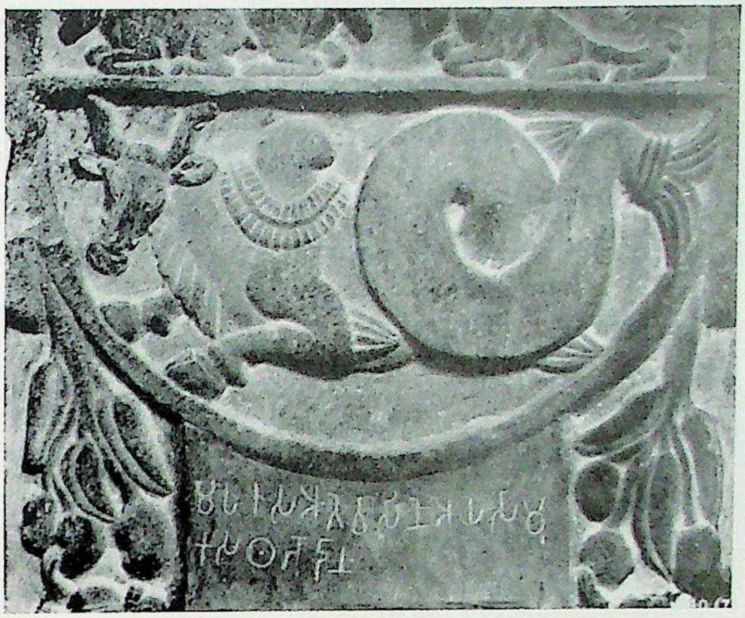
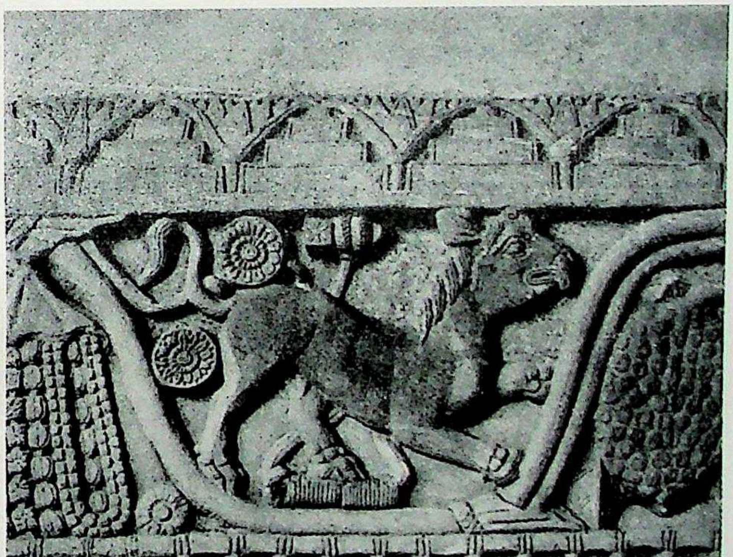
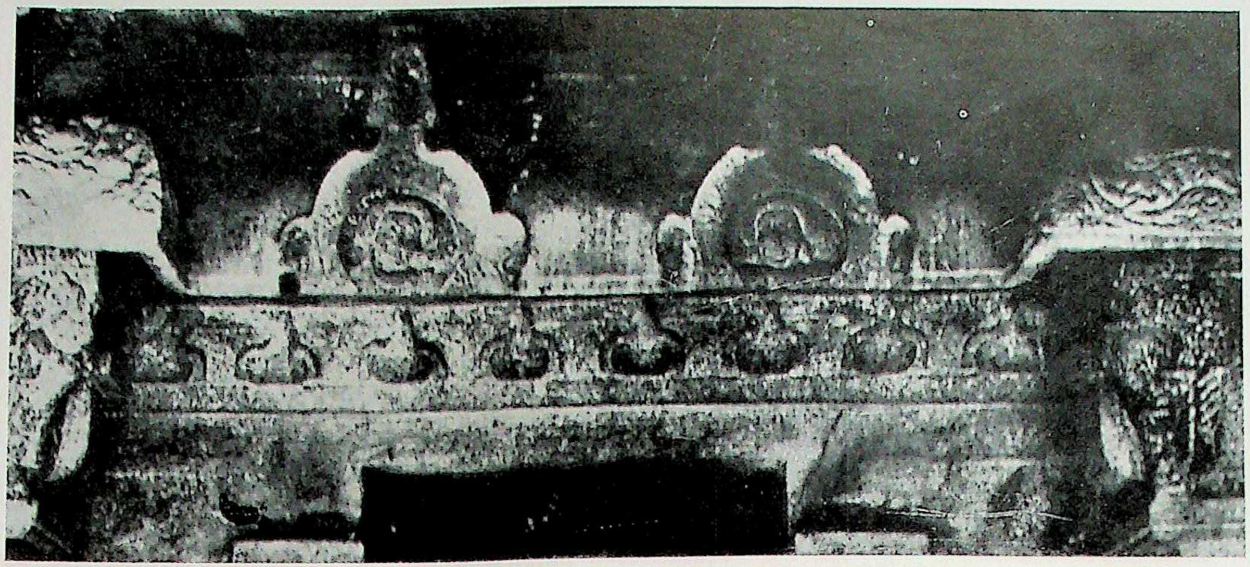


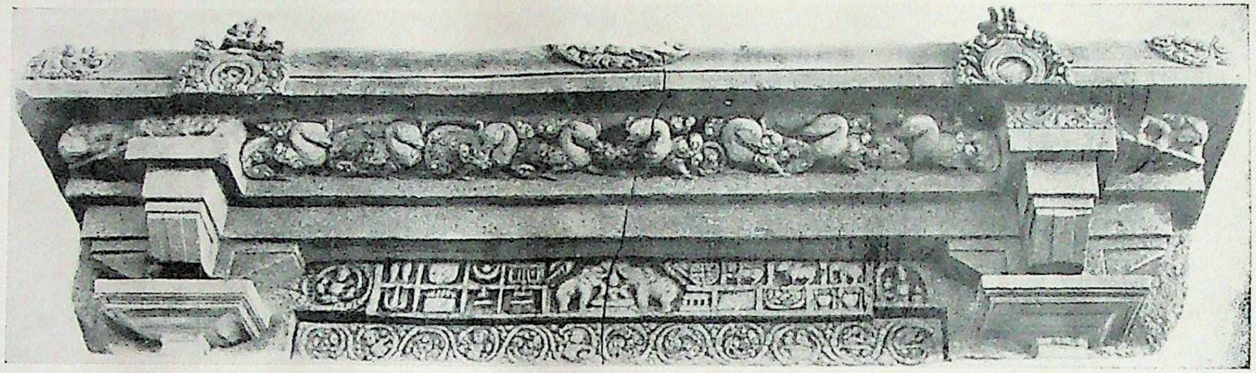
Fig. 136. *Īhāmṛigas*, Śuṅga, 2nd century B.C., Bhārhut Indian Museum. Calcutta.





a

Fig. 138. Row of geese as carrying edifice lightly on wings, a, Pallava, 7th century A.D., Mahābalipuram, and b, Nolamba, 9th century A.D., Hemāvatī, Madras Museum



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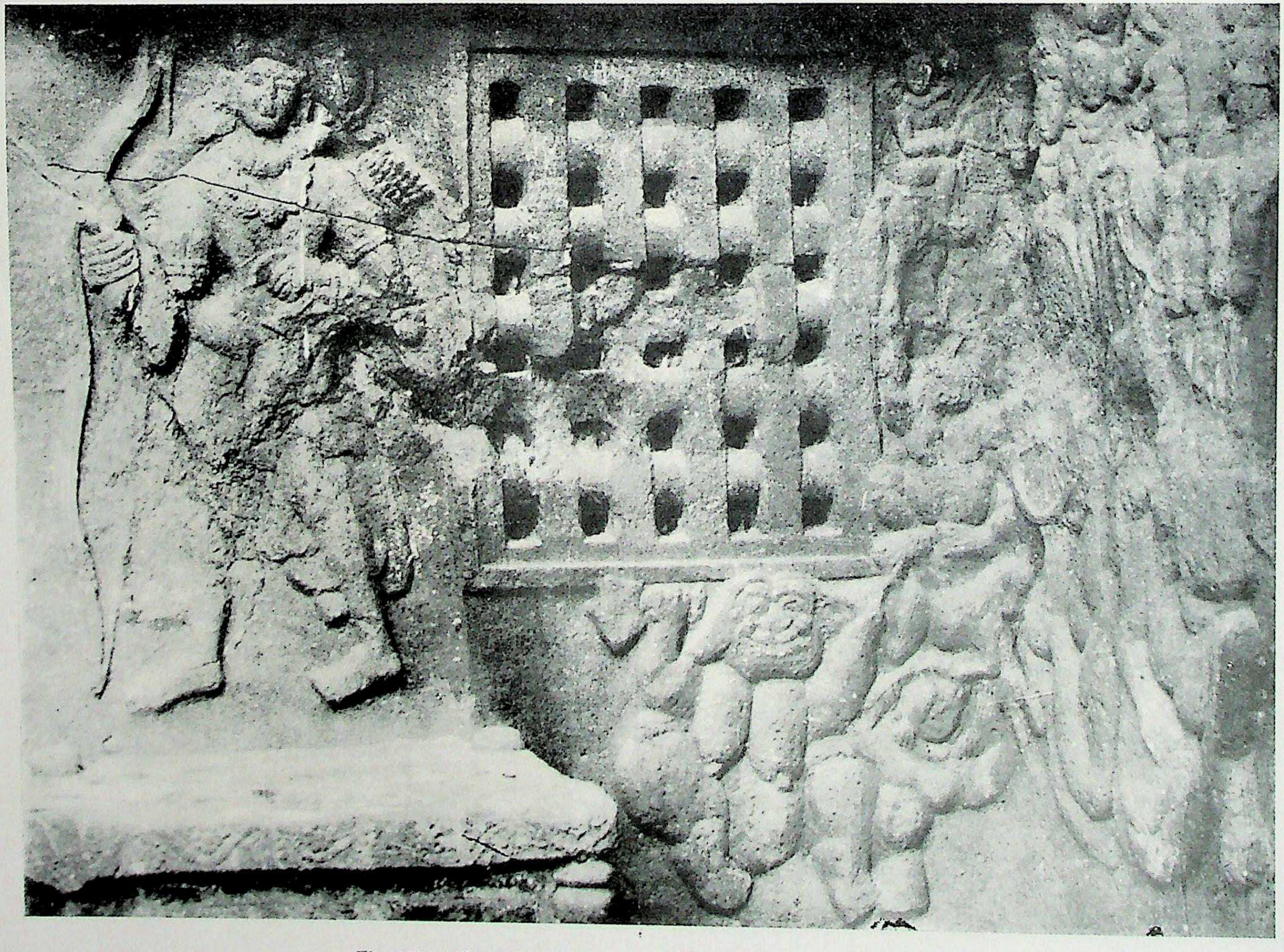

Fig. 139. *Jālavātāyana*, Sātavāhana, 2nd century B.C., Bhājā Cave.

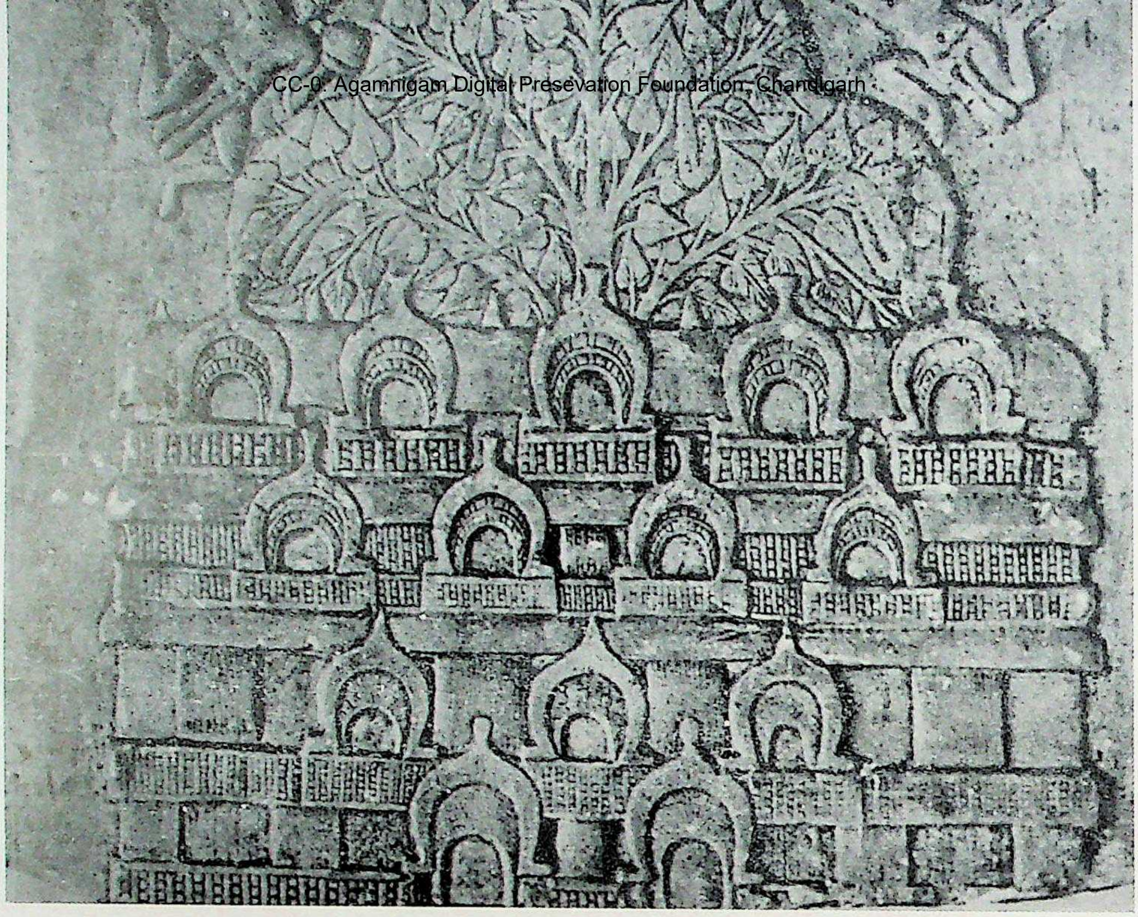

Fig. 141. Multi-storied monastery, Sātavāhana, 2nd century B.C. Amarāvatī, Madras Museum.

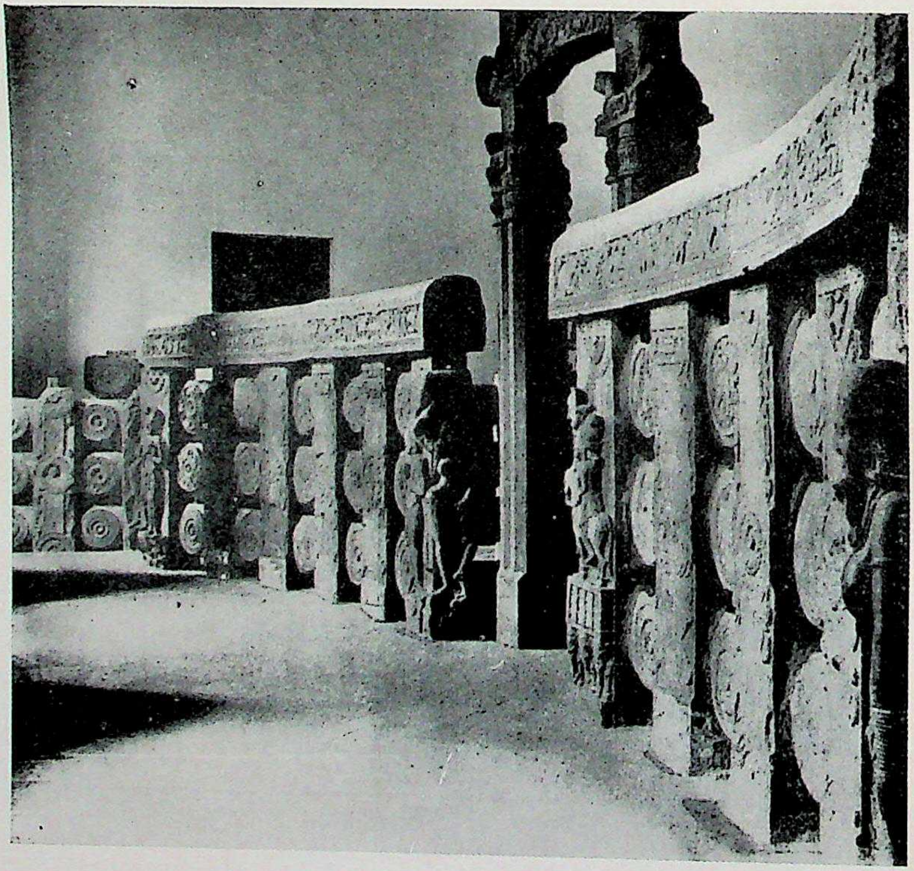

Fig. 140. *Vedikā*, Śuṅga., 2nd century B.C., Bhārhut, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

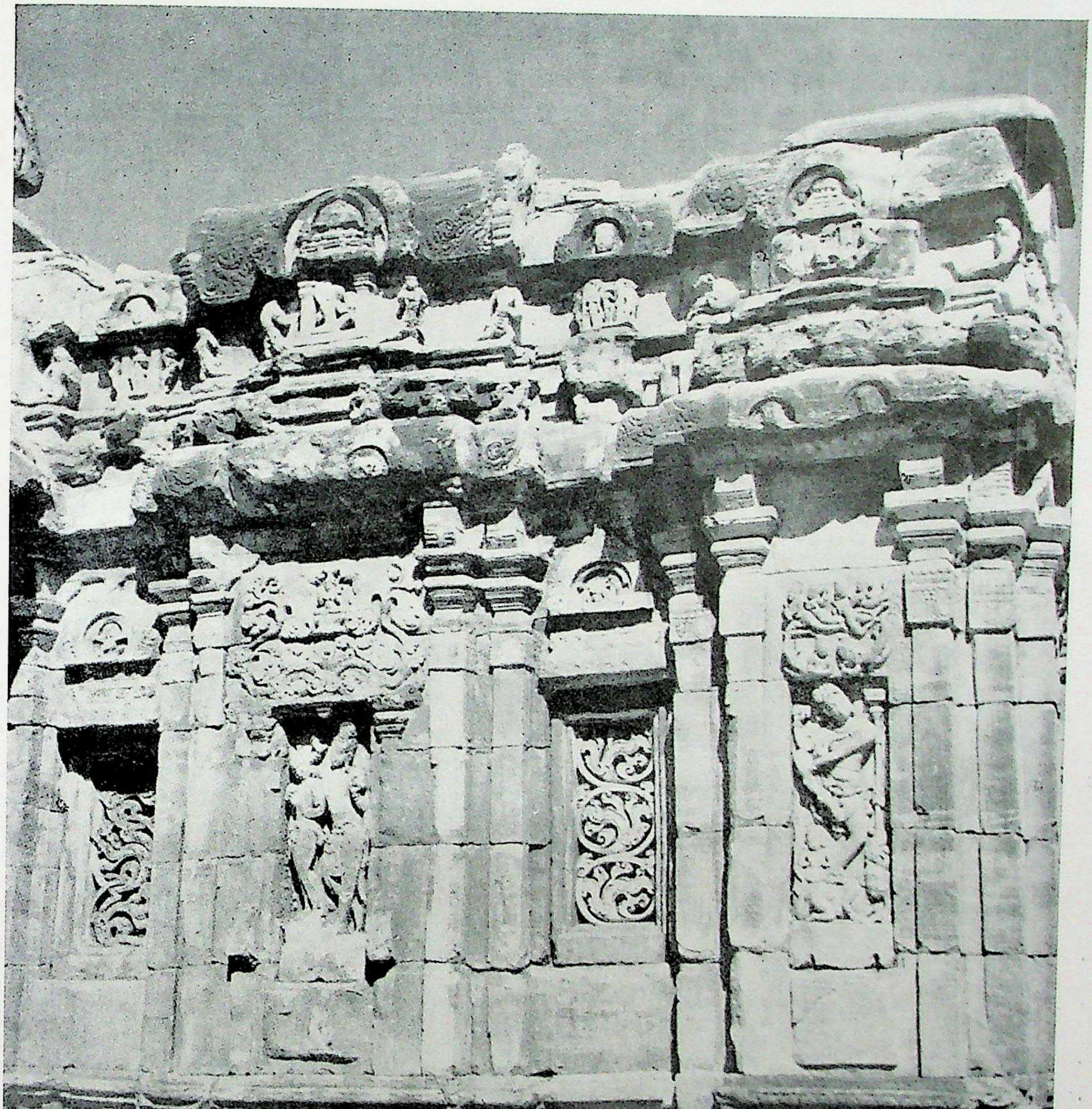

Fig. 142. Virūpāksha temple, Early Western Chāḷukya, 8th century A.D., Paṭṭaḍakal.

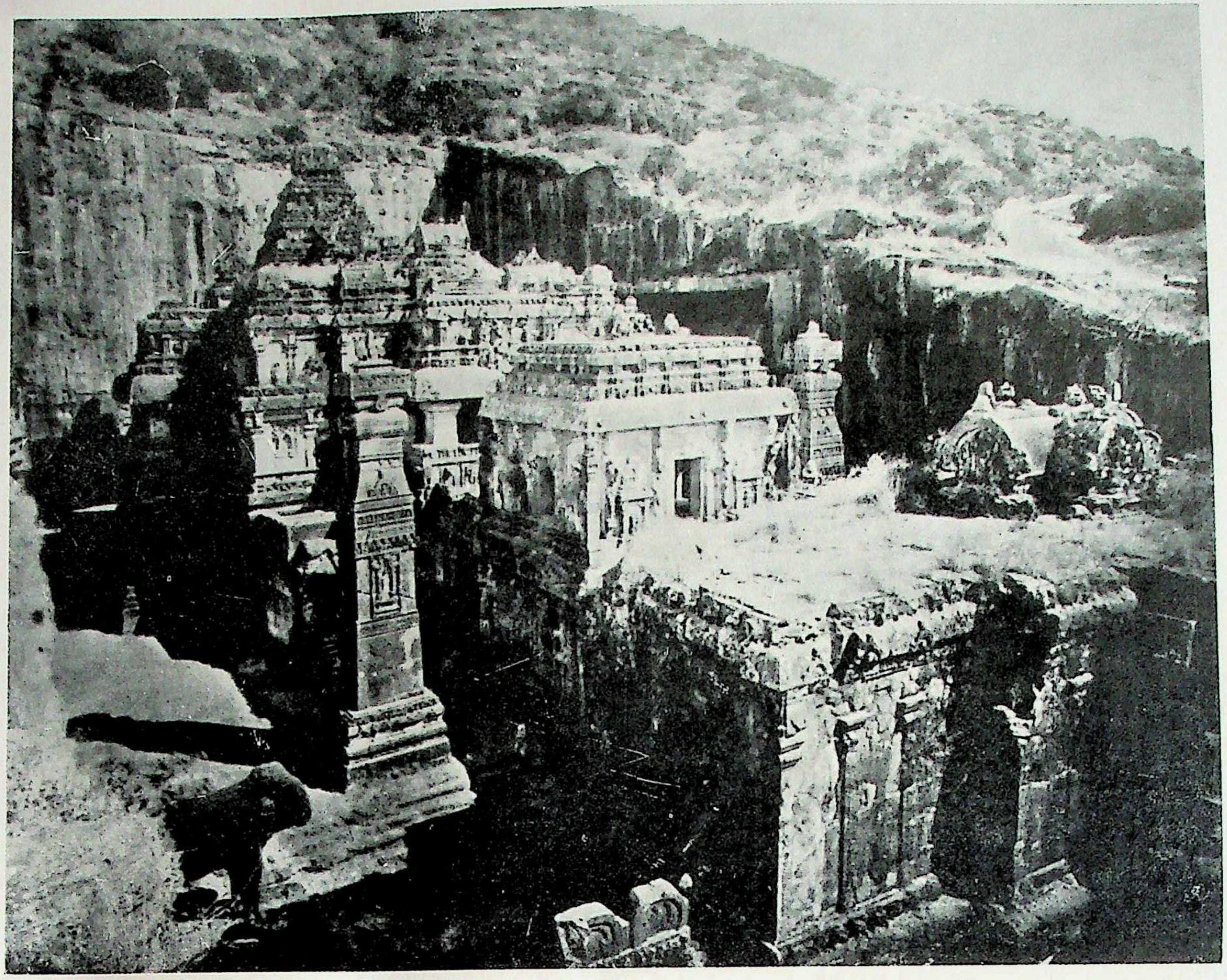

Fig. 143. Kailāsa temple, Rāshṭrakūṭa, 8th century A.D., Ellora.

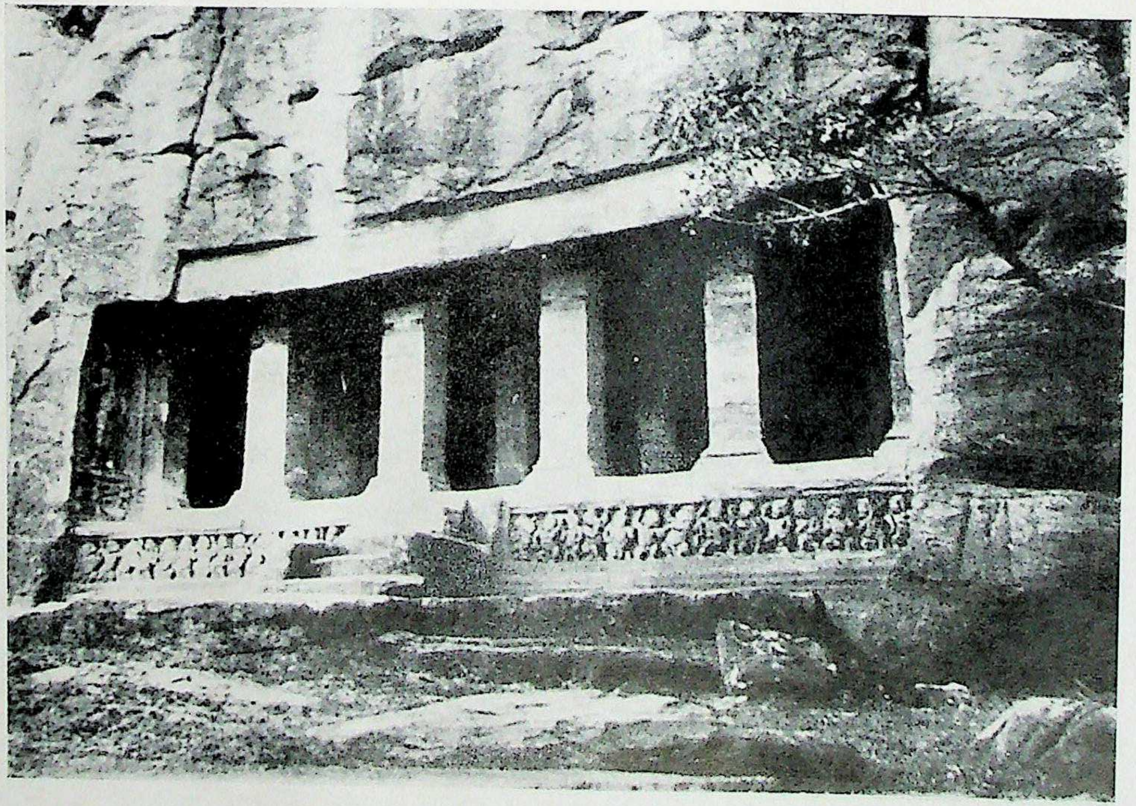

Fig. 144. Vaishṇava cave, early Western Chāḷukya, 6th century A.D., Bādāmī.

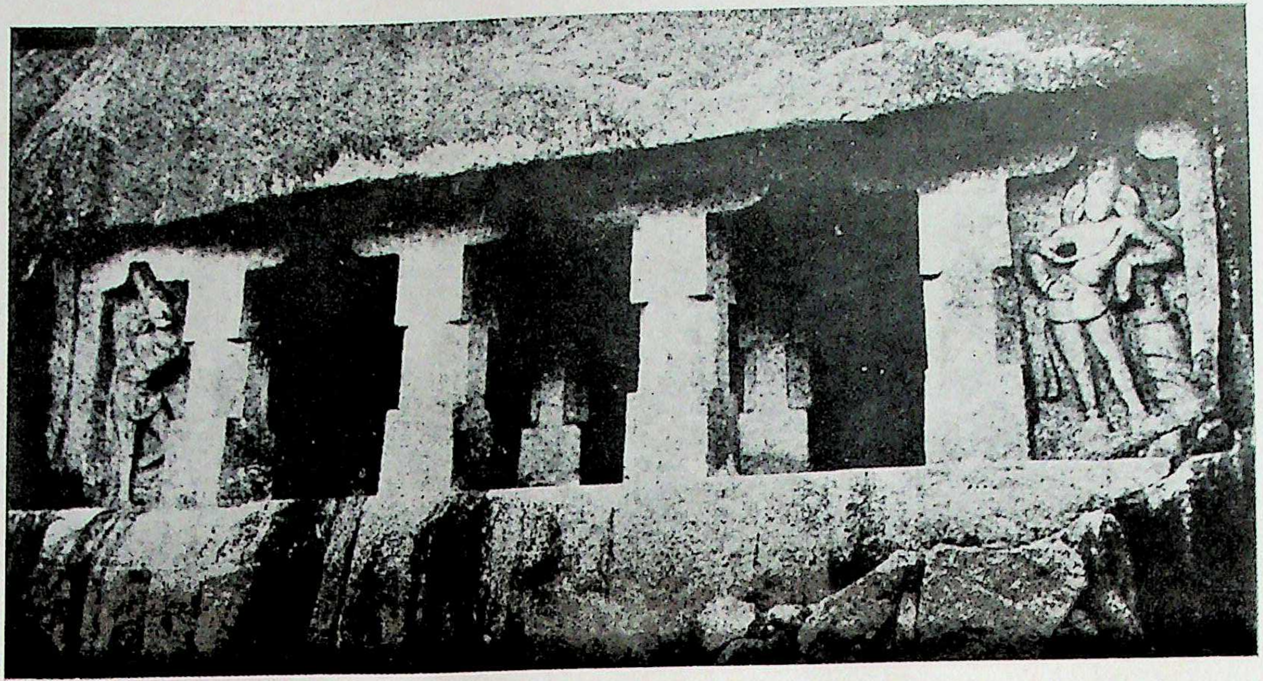

Fig. 145. Rock-cut cave, Pallava, 7th century A.D., Maṇḍagapaṭṭu.

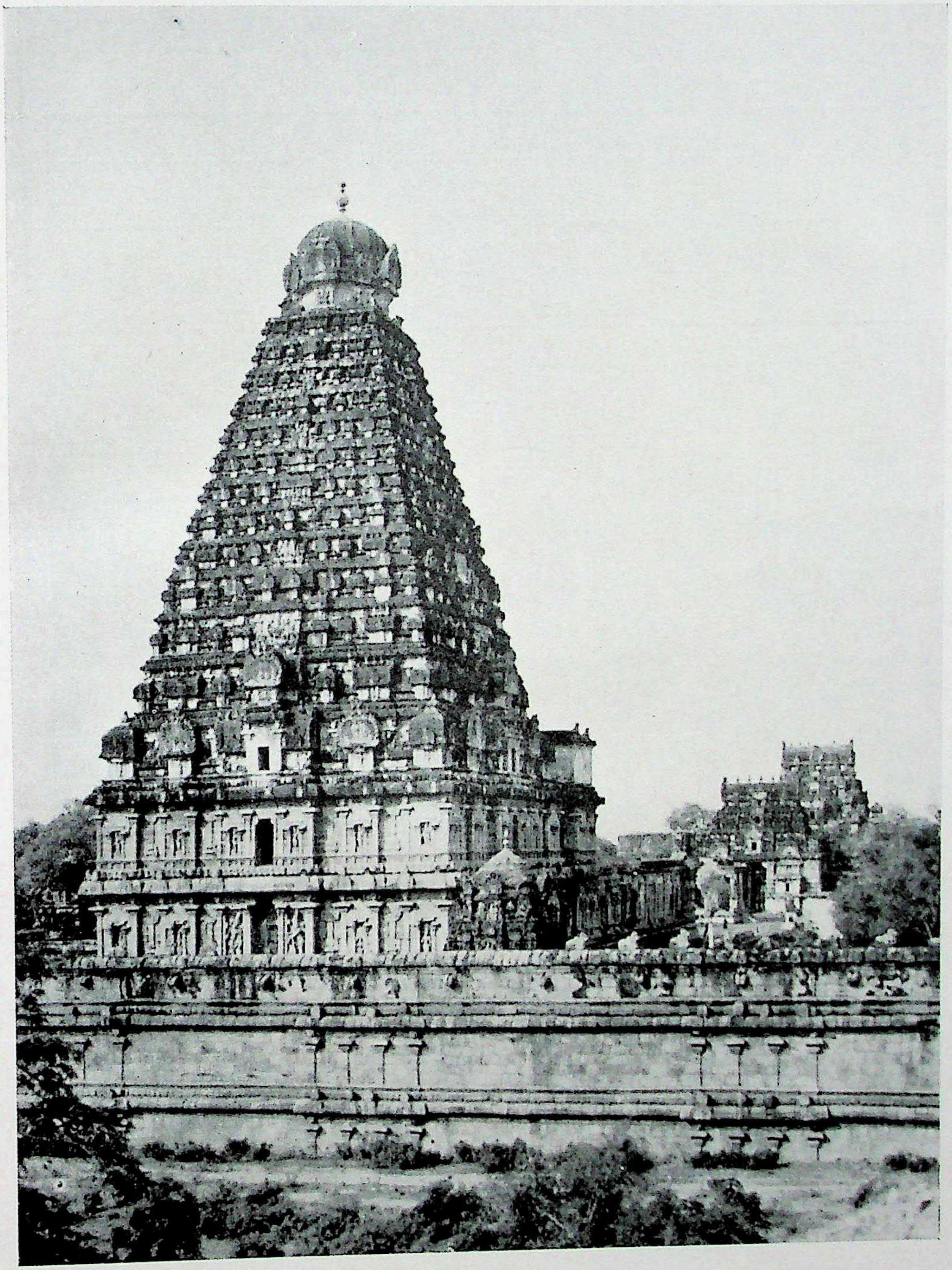

Fig. 146. Rājarājeśvara temple, Choḷa, 1000 A.D., Tañjāvur.

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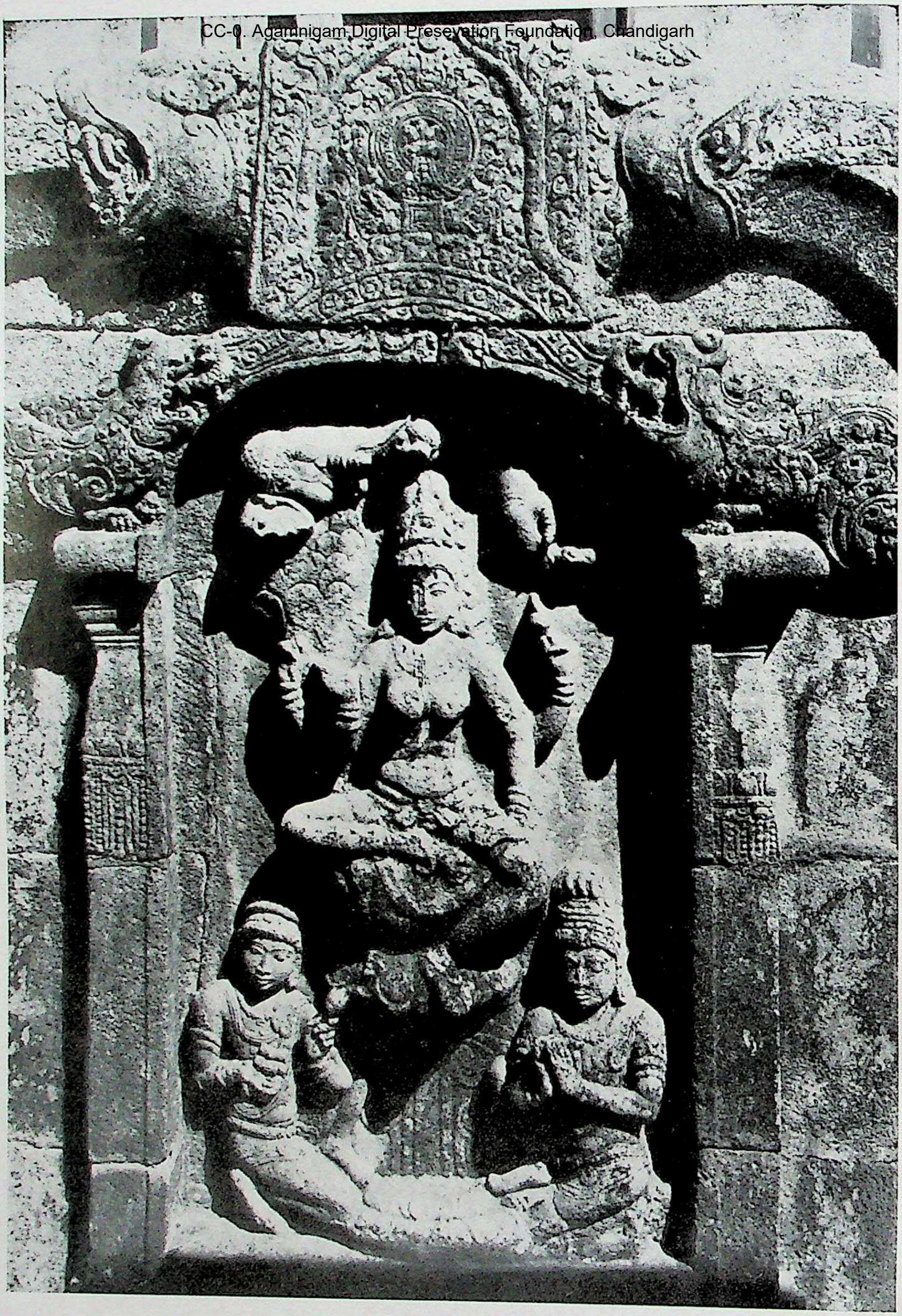

Fig. 147. Vishṇu temple, Pallava, 9th century A.D., Uttaramerur.

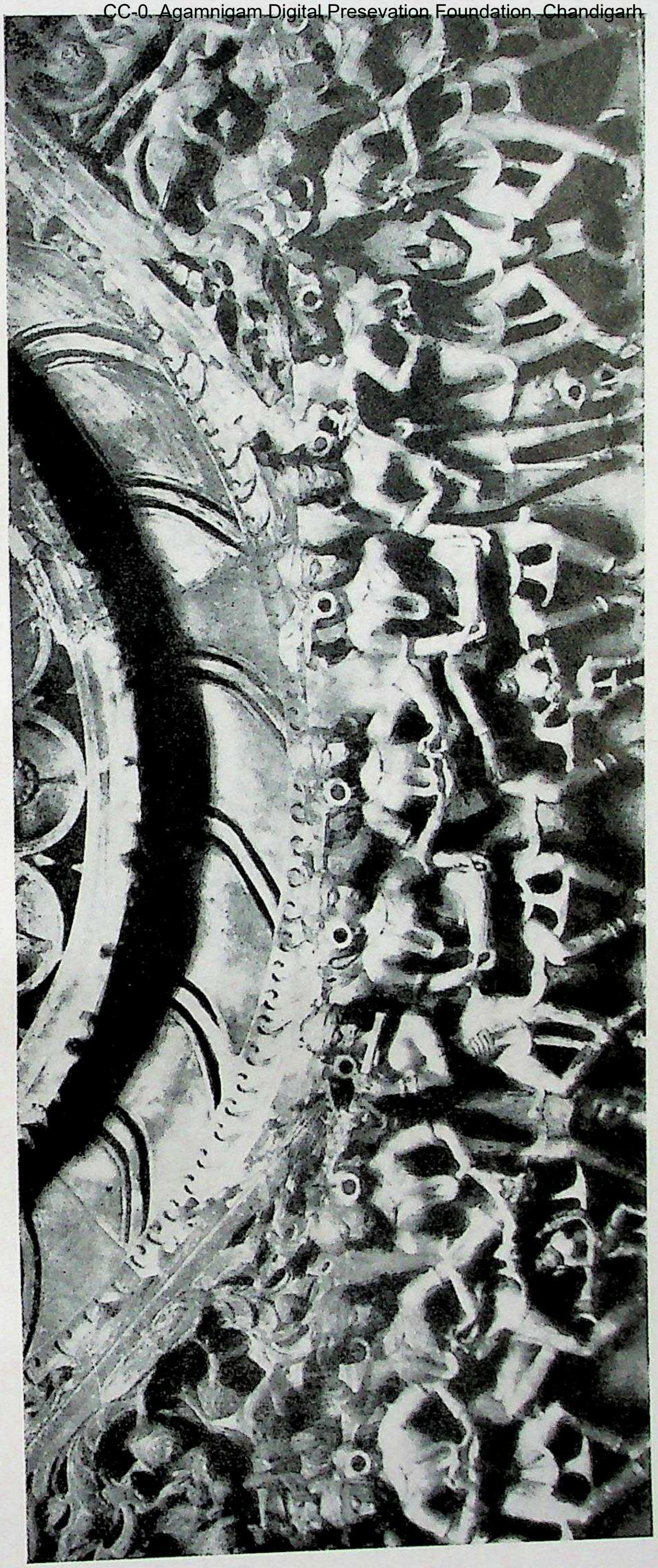

Fig. 148. Carving on ceiling, Chauḷukya, 13th century A.D., Mt. Abu.

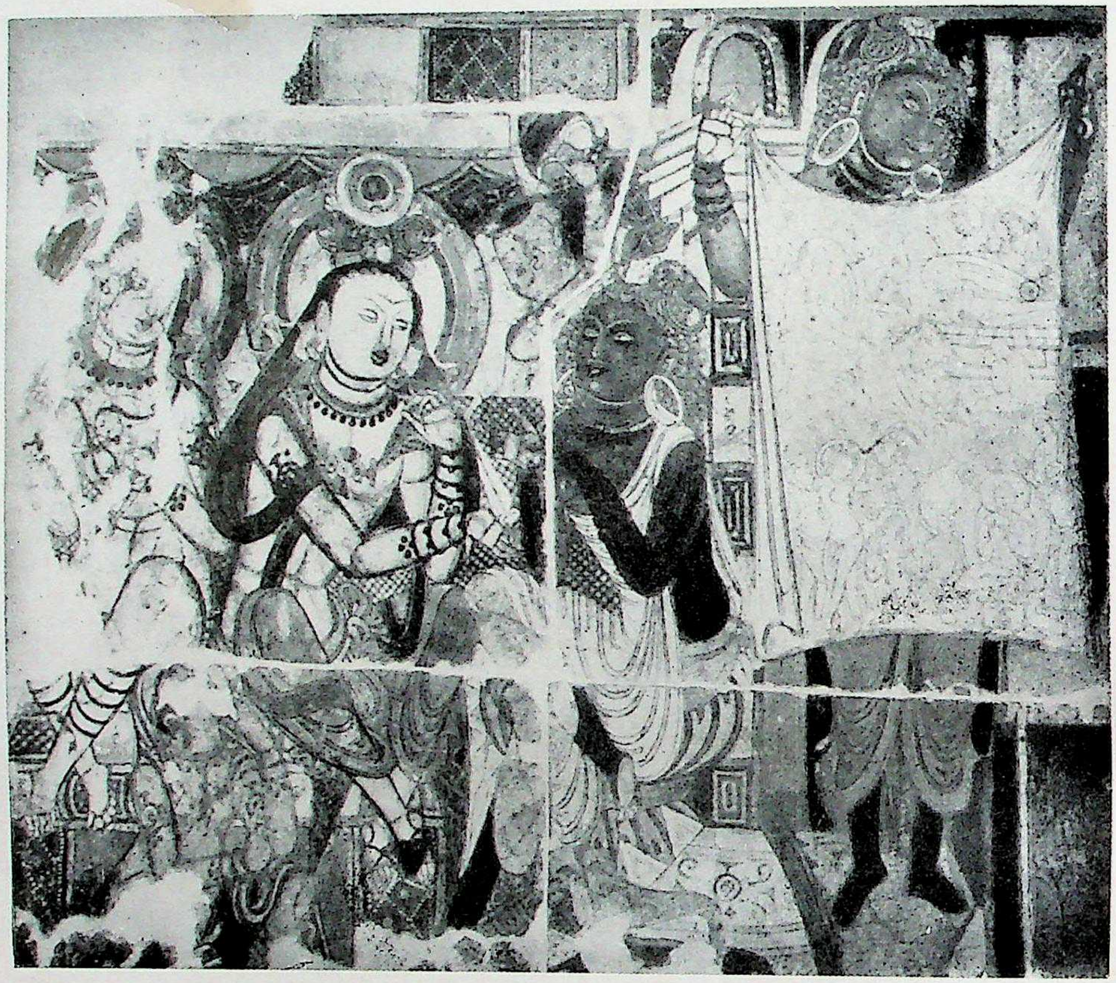

Fig. 149. Painting showing unfurling of a canvas depicting scenes from Buddha's life before Ajātaśatru, 7th, 8th century A.D., Qyzil, Central Asia.

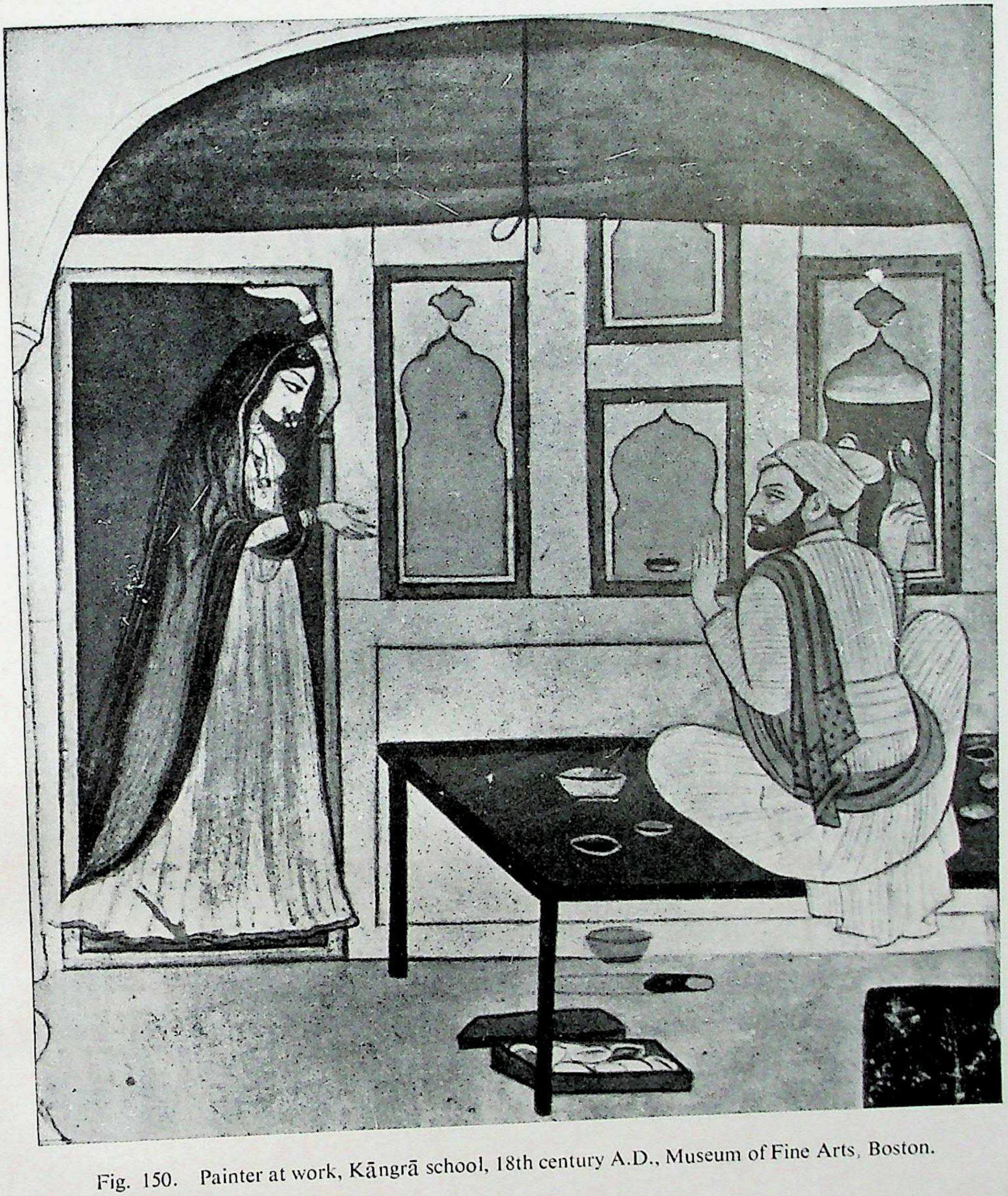

Fig. 150. Painter at work, Kāngrā school, 18th century A.D., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

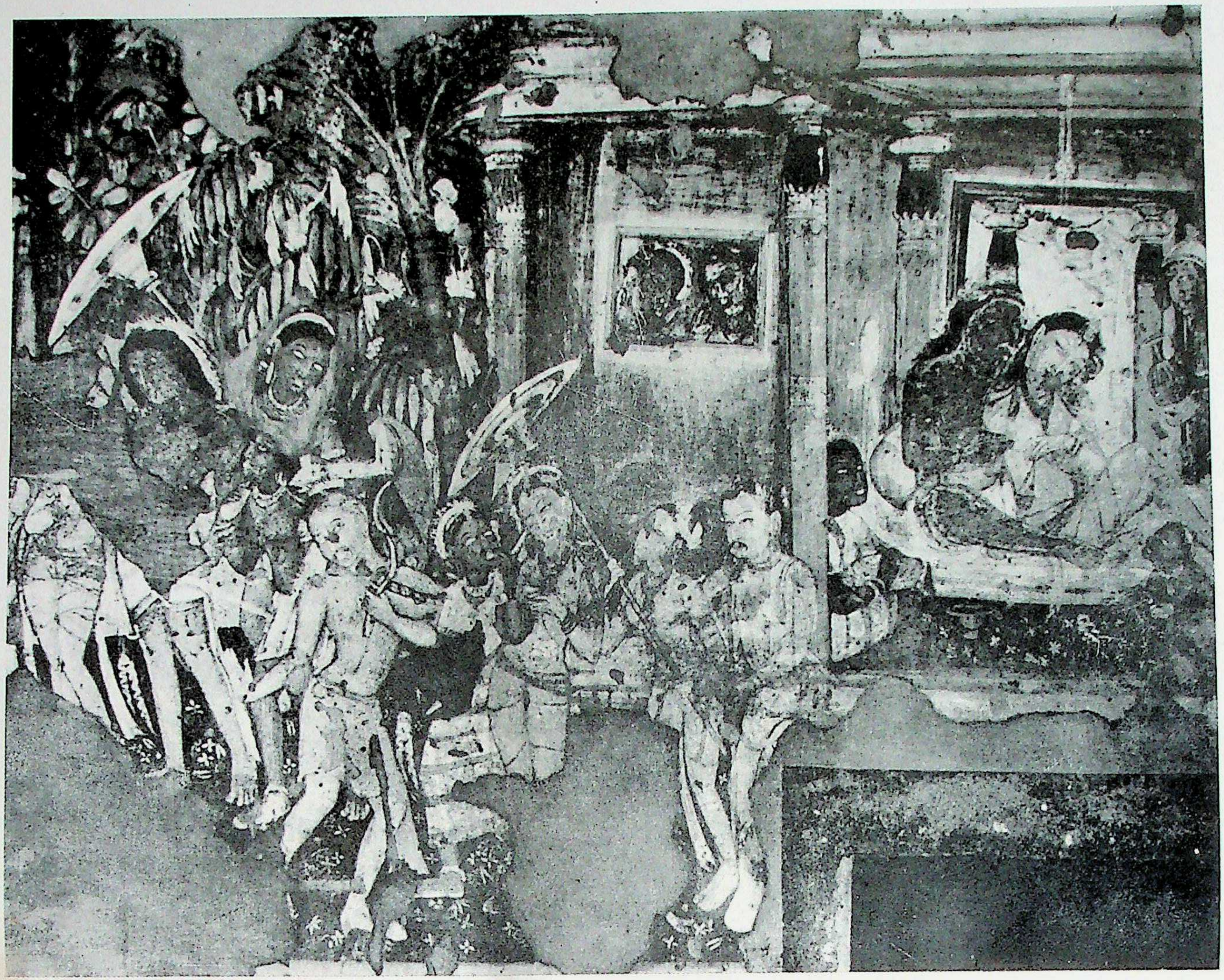

Fig. 151. Garden scene, Vākāṭaka, 5th century A.D., Ajaṇṭā.

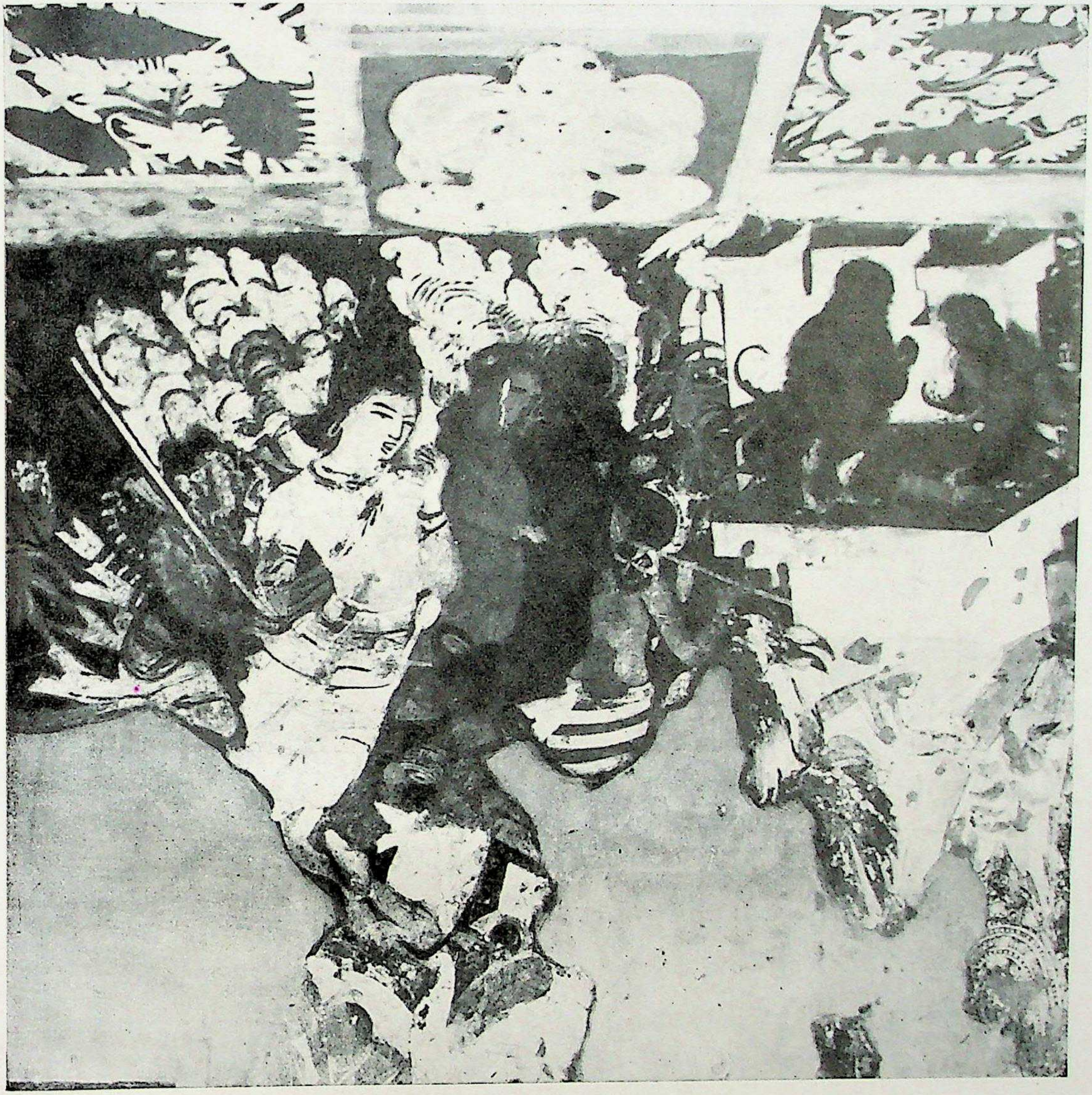

Fig. 152. Flying celestials, Vākāṭaka, 5th century A.D., Ajaṇṭā.

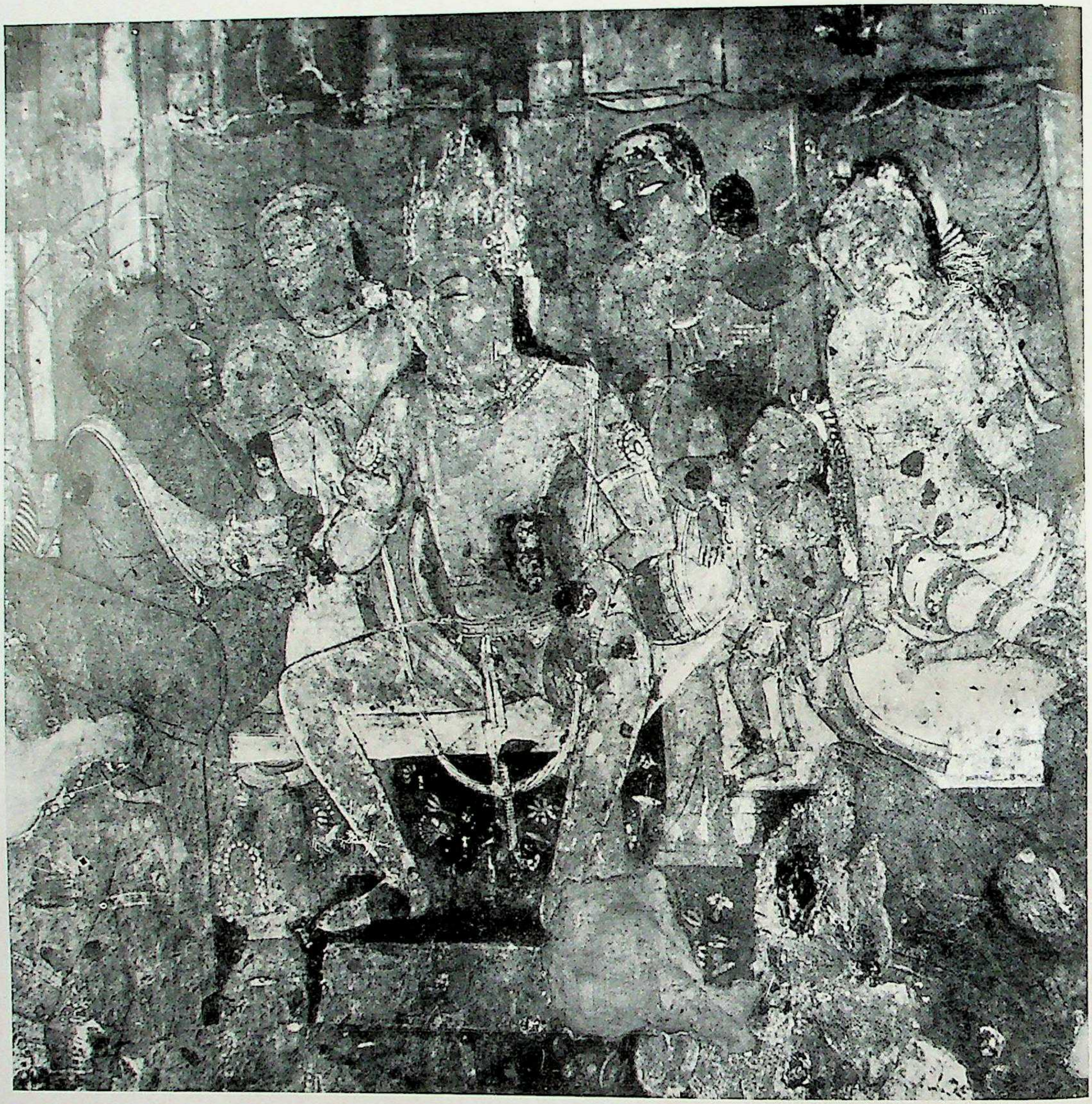

Fig. 153. Jūjuka in Vessantara jātaka, Vākāṭaka, 5th century A.D., Ajaṇṭa.

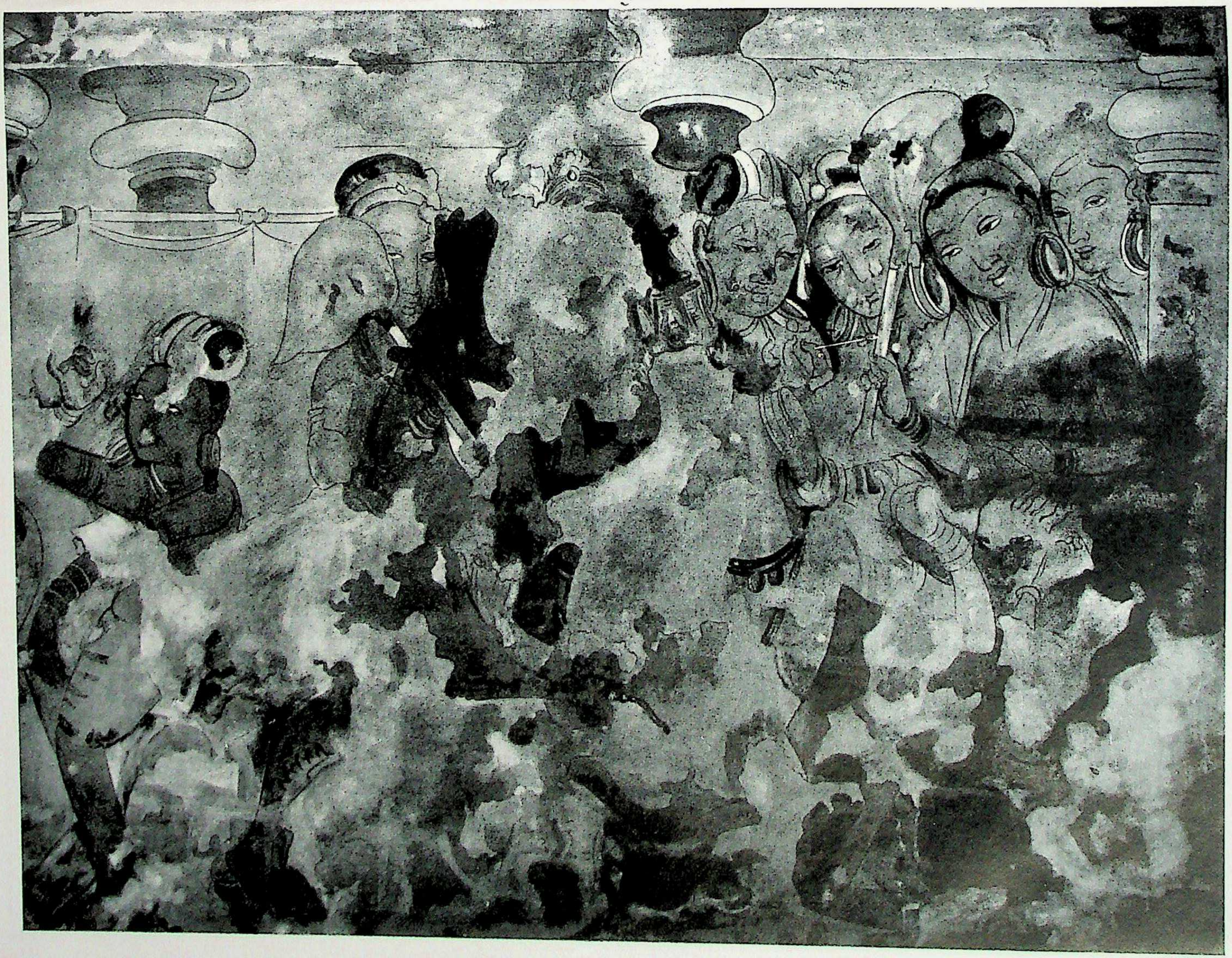

Fig. 156. Painting depicting Indrasabhā, Western Chāḷukya, 6th century A.D., Bādāmī.

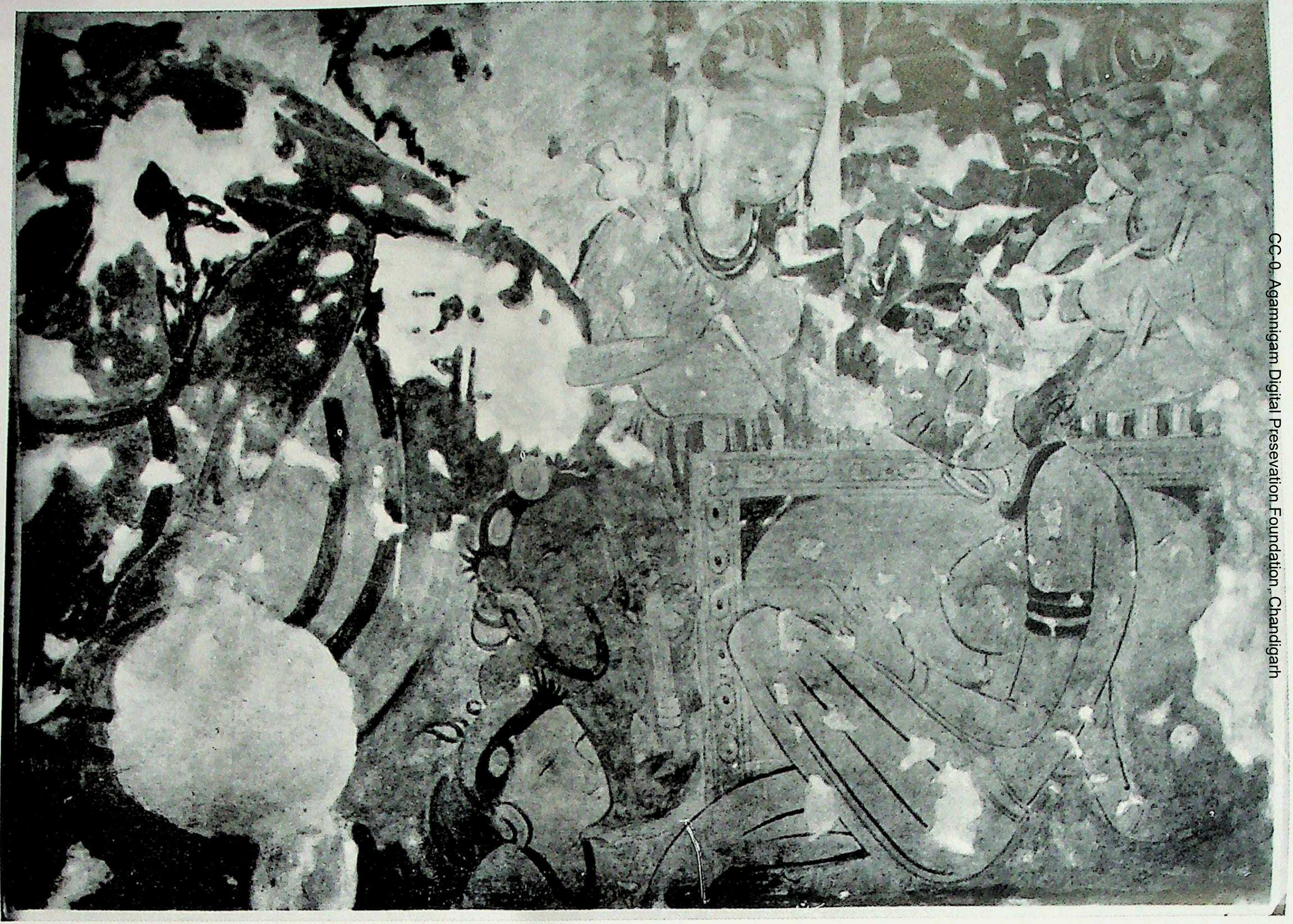

Fig. 157. Painting depicting Kīrtivarman and queen, Western Chāḷukya, 6th century A.D., Bādāmī.

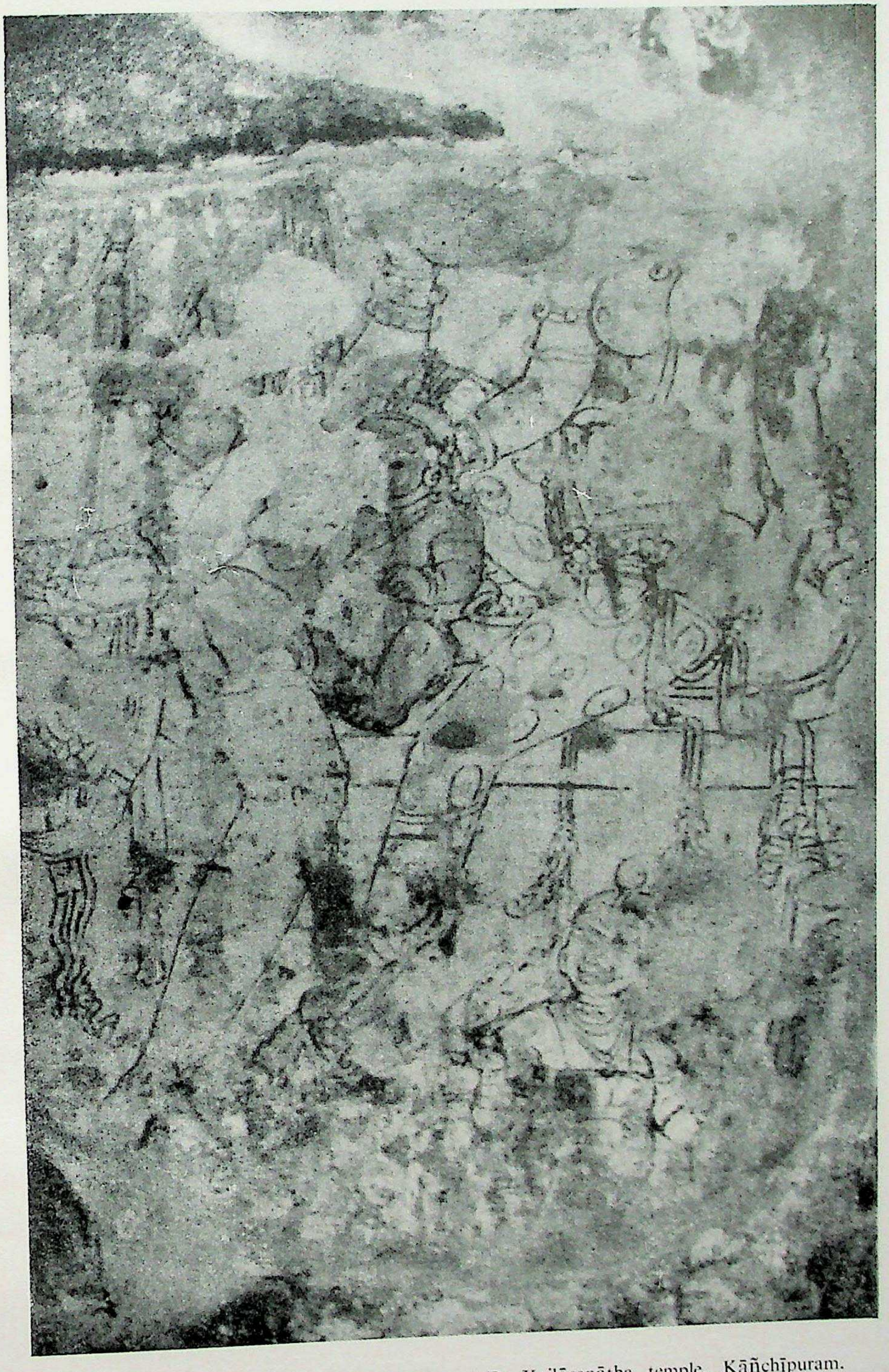

Fig. 158. Somāskanda, Pallava, 7th century A.D., Kailāsanātha temple, Kāñchīpuram.

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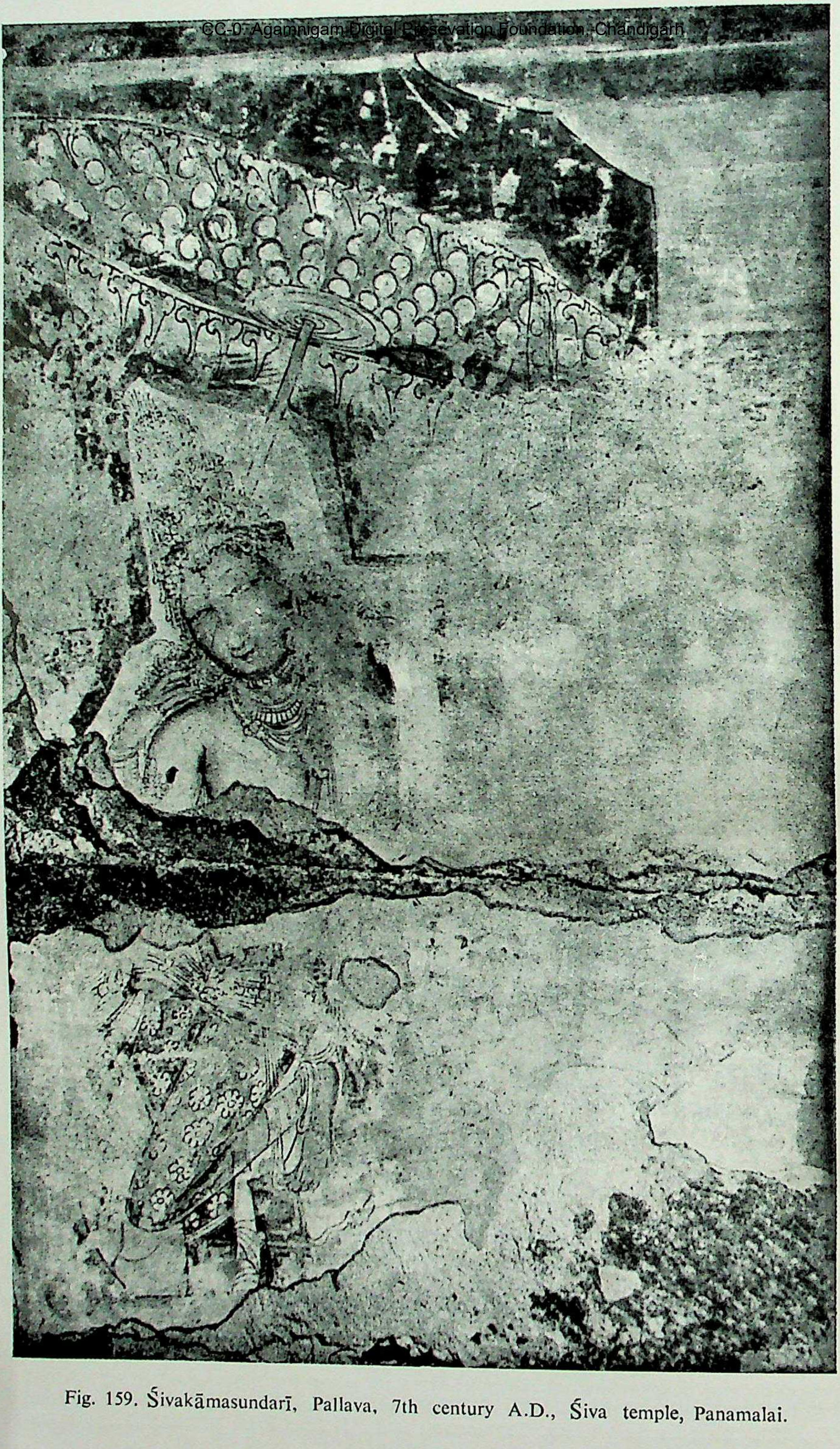

Fig. 159. Śivakāmasundarī, Pallava, 7th century A.D., Śiva temple, Panamalai.

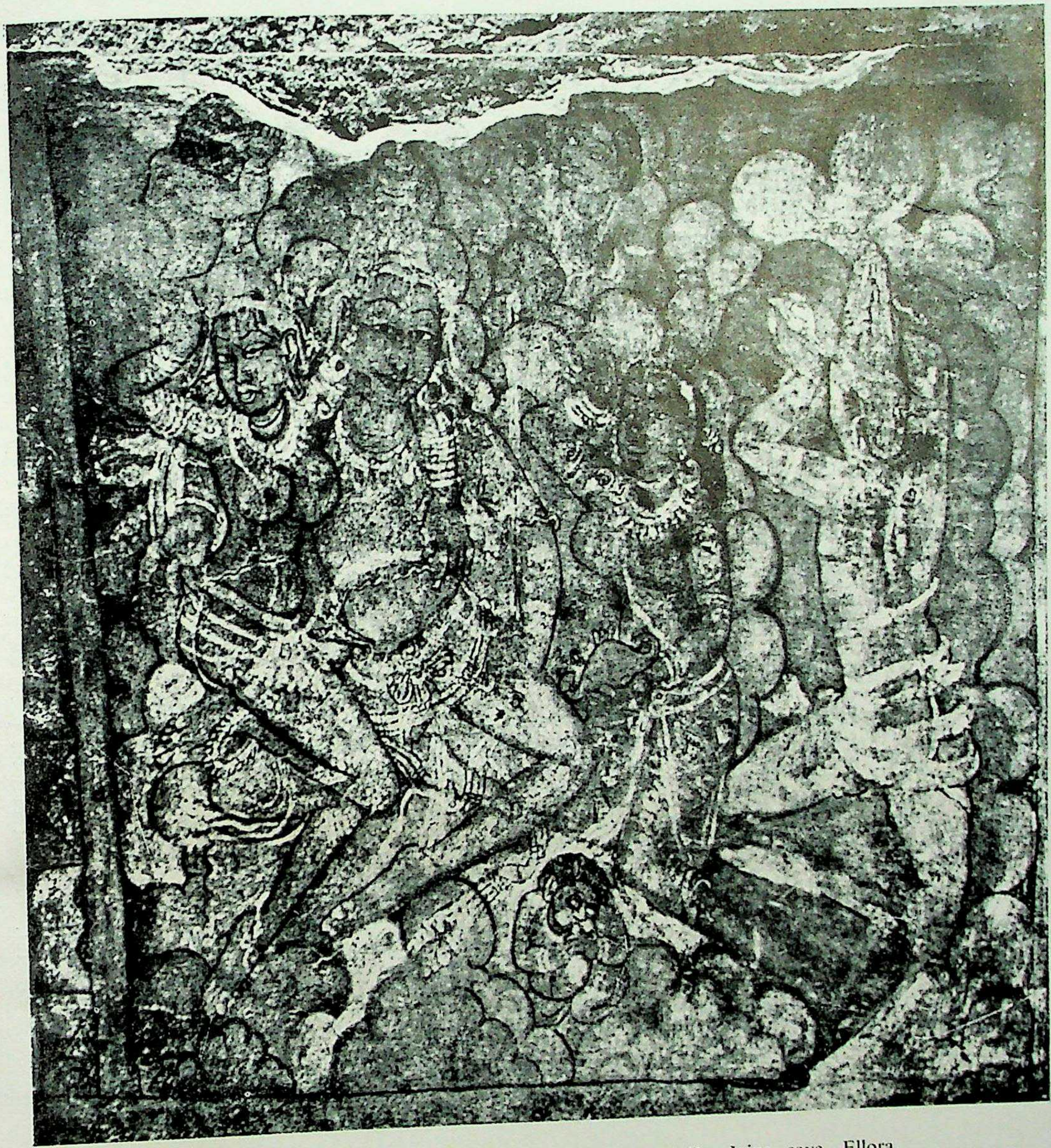

Fig. 160. Vidyādharas, Rāshṭrakūṭa, 9th century A.D., Jaina cave, Ellora.

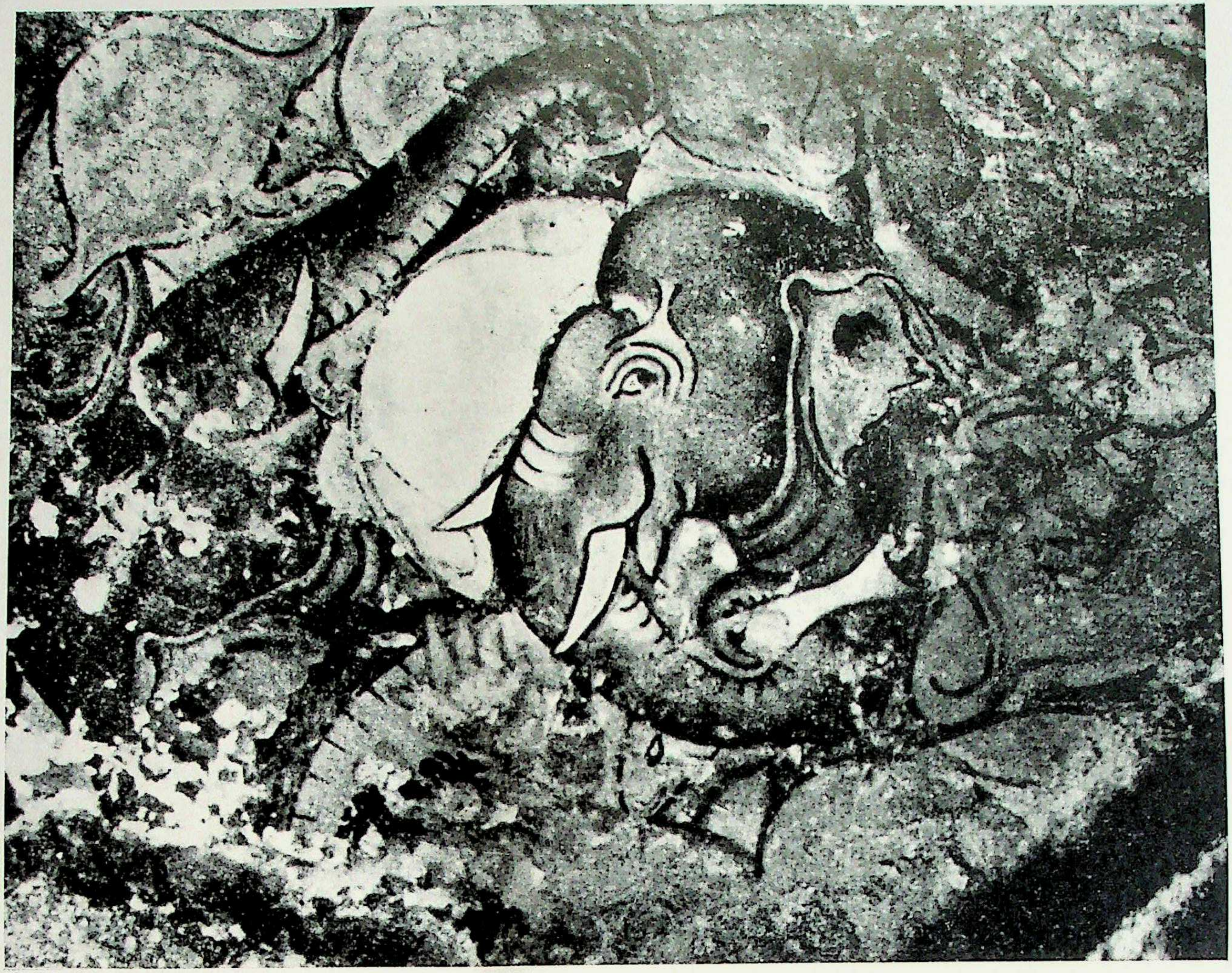

Fig. 161. Elephant in lotus pool, Rāshṭrakūṭa, 8th century A.D., Kailāsa, Ellora.

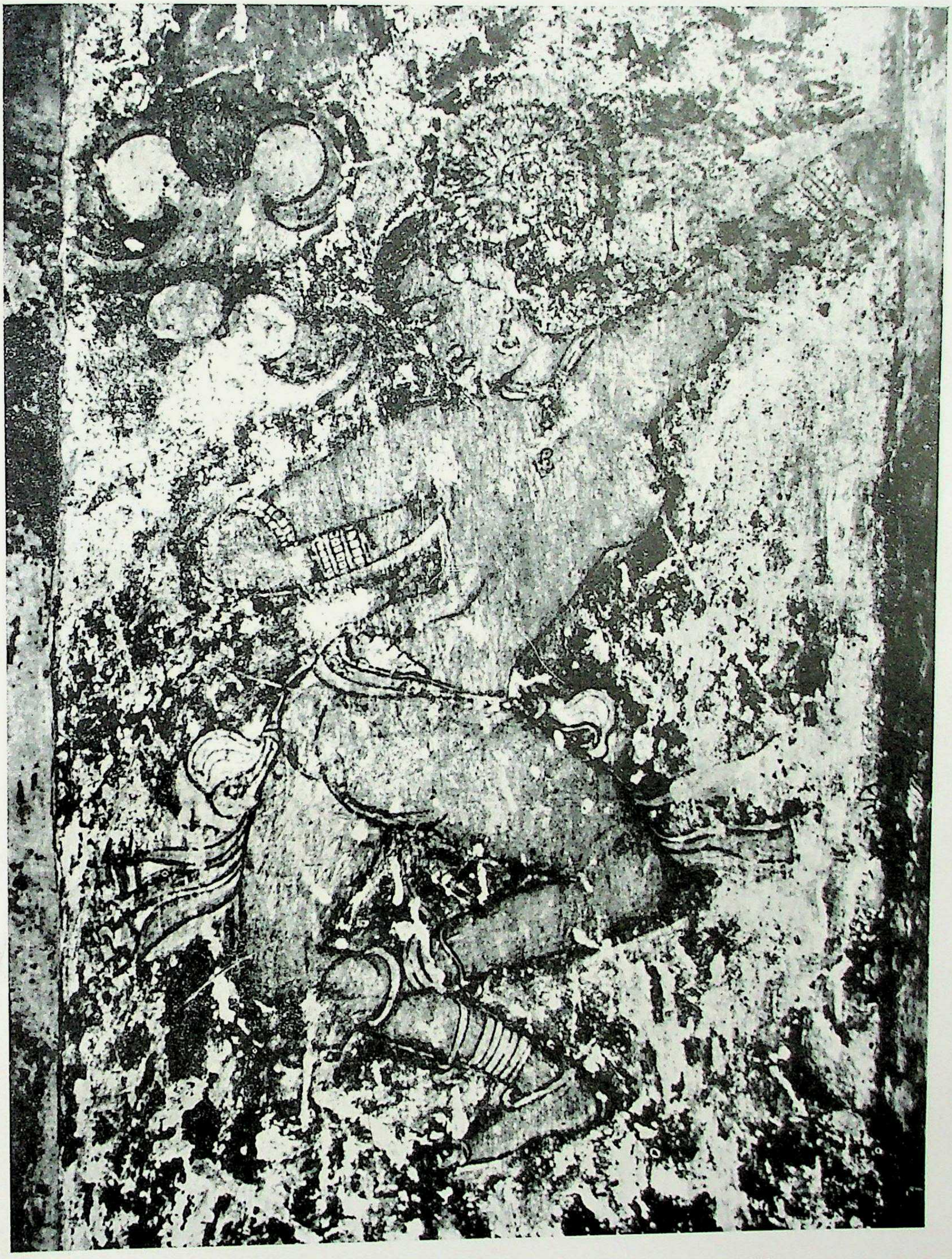

Fig. 163. Apsaras dancing, Choḷa, 1000 A.D., Rājarājeśvara temple, Tañjāvur.

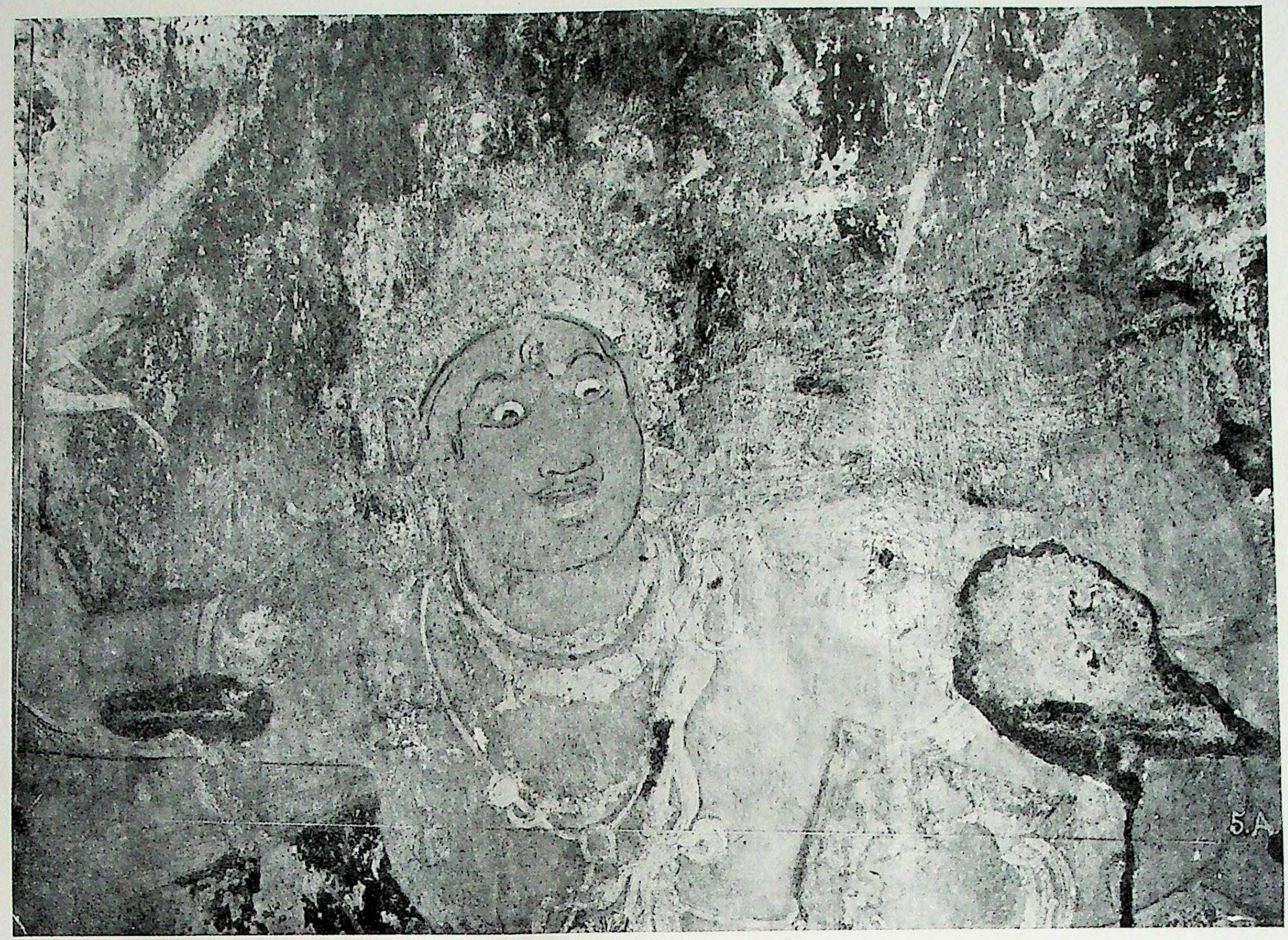

Fig. 164. Tripurāntaka and Asuras fighting, Choḷa, 1000 A.D., Rājarājeśvara temple, Tañjāvur.

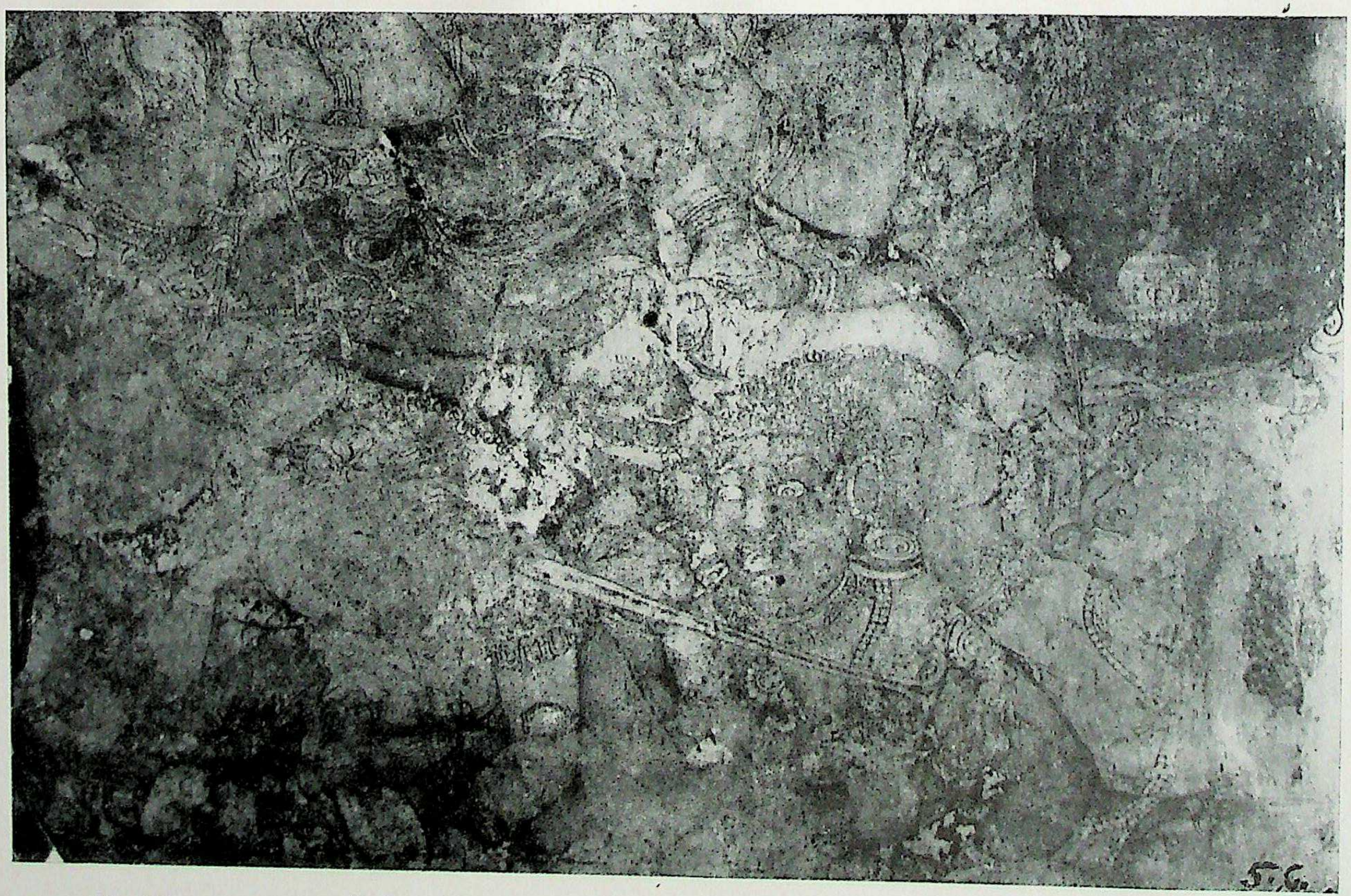

Fig. 165. Asuras fighting Śiva dissuaded by their consorts, Choḷa, 11th century A.D., Rājarājeśvara temple, Tañjāvur.

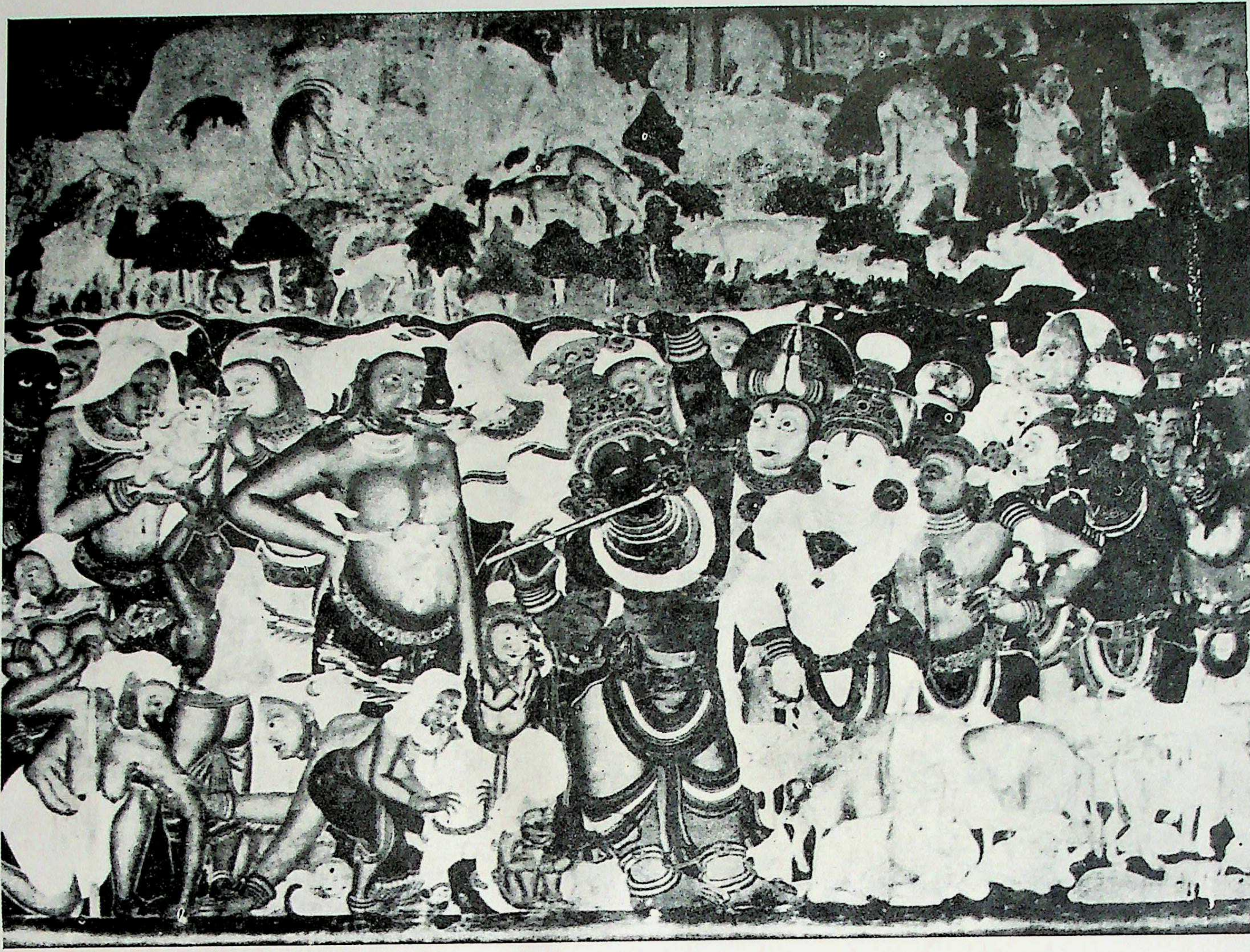

Fig. 166. Govardhana scene, late Kerala, 18th century A.D. Maṭṭāñcherī palace.

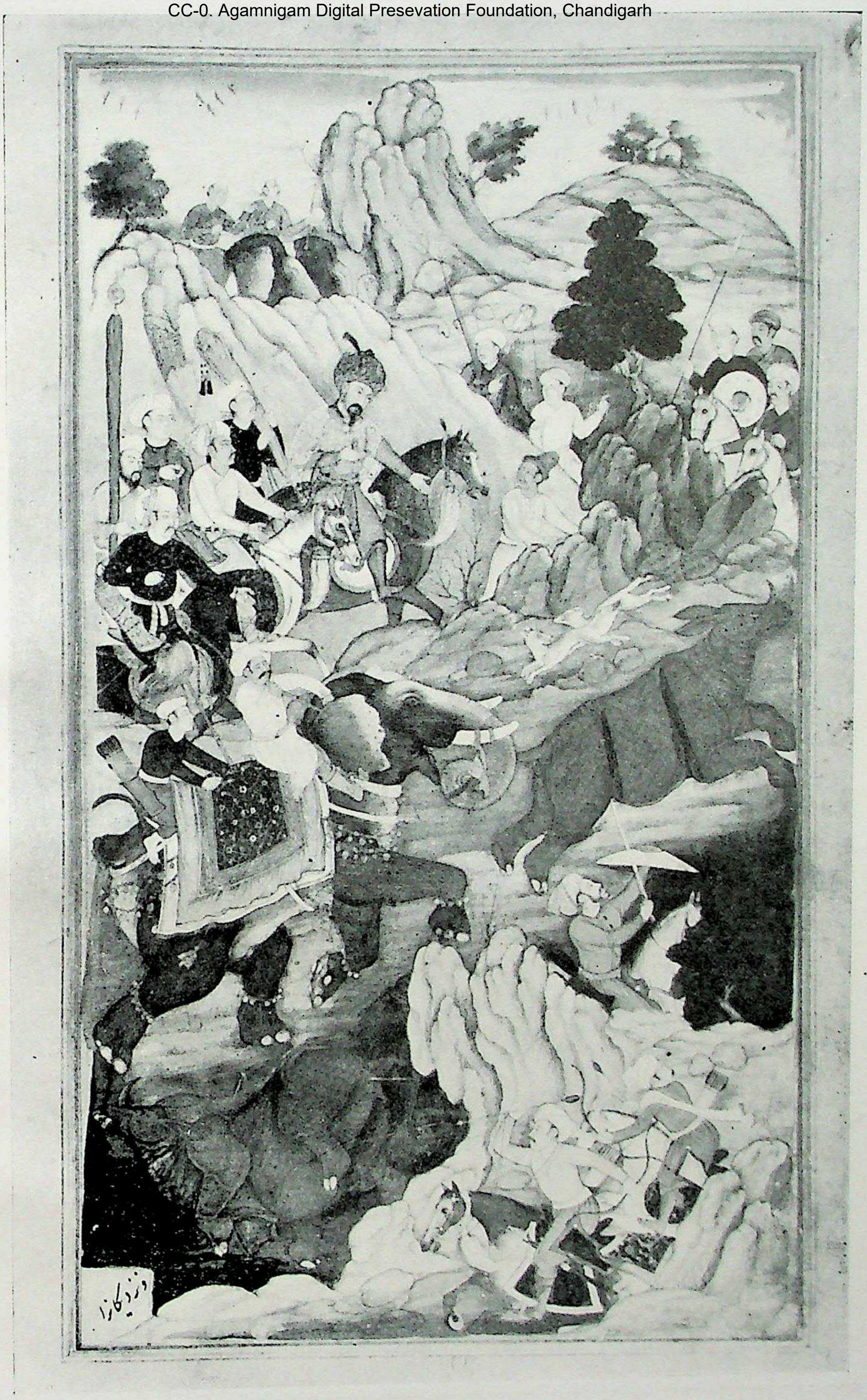

Fig. 167. Bābar hunting rhinoceros, Mughal, 16th century A.D., from *Bābar Nāma*, National Museum.

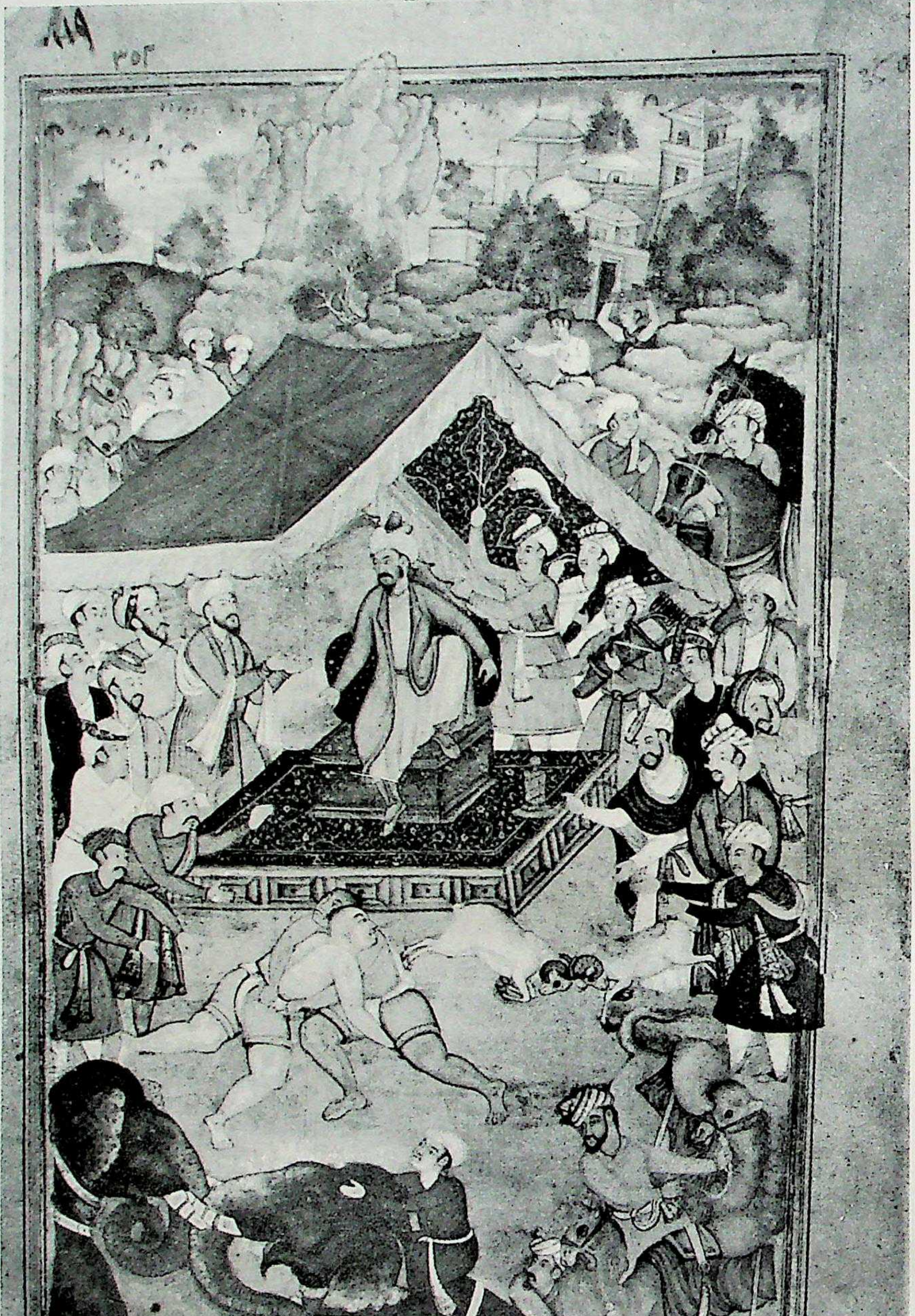

Fig. 168. Bābar watching the combat of elephants, rams, camels and wrestlers, Mughal, 16th century A.D., from *Bābar Nāma*, National Museum.

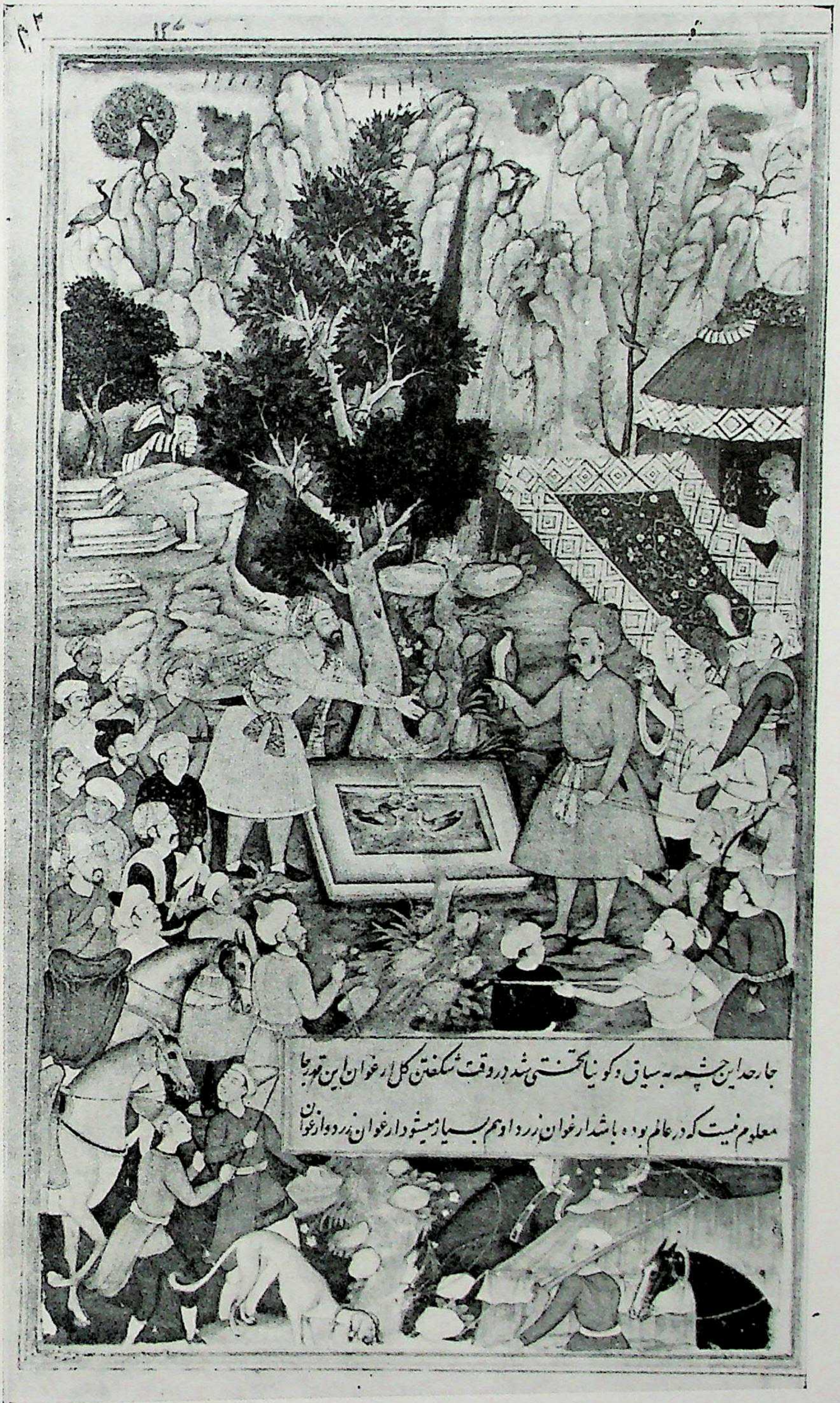
جار حد این چشمه به سیاق دکونیا لختی شد در وقت شکفتن گل ارغوان این قدر جا
معلوم نیست که در عالم بوده باشد ارغوان زرد او هم بسیار میشود ارغوان زرد و ارغوان

Fig. 169. Bābar in a garden, Mughal, 16th century A.D., from *Bābar Nāma*, National Museum.

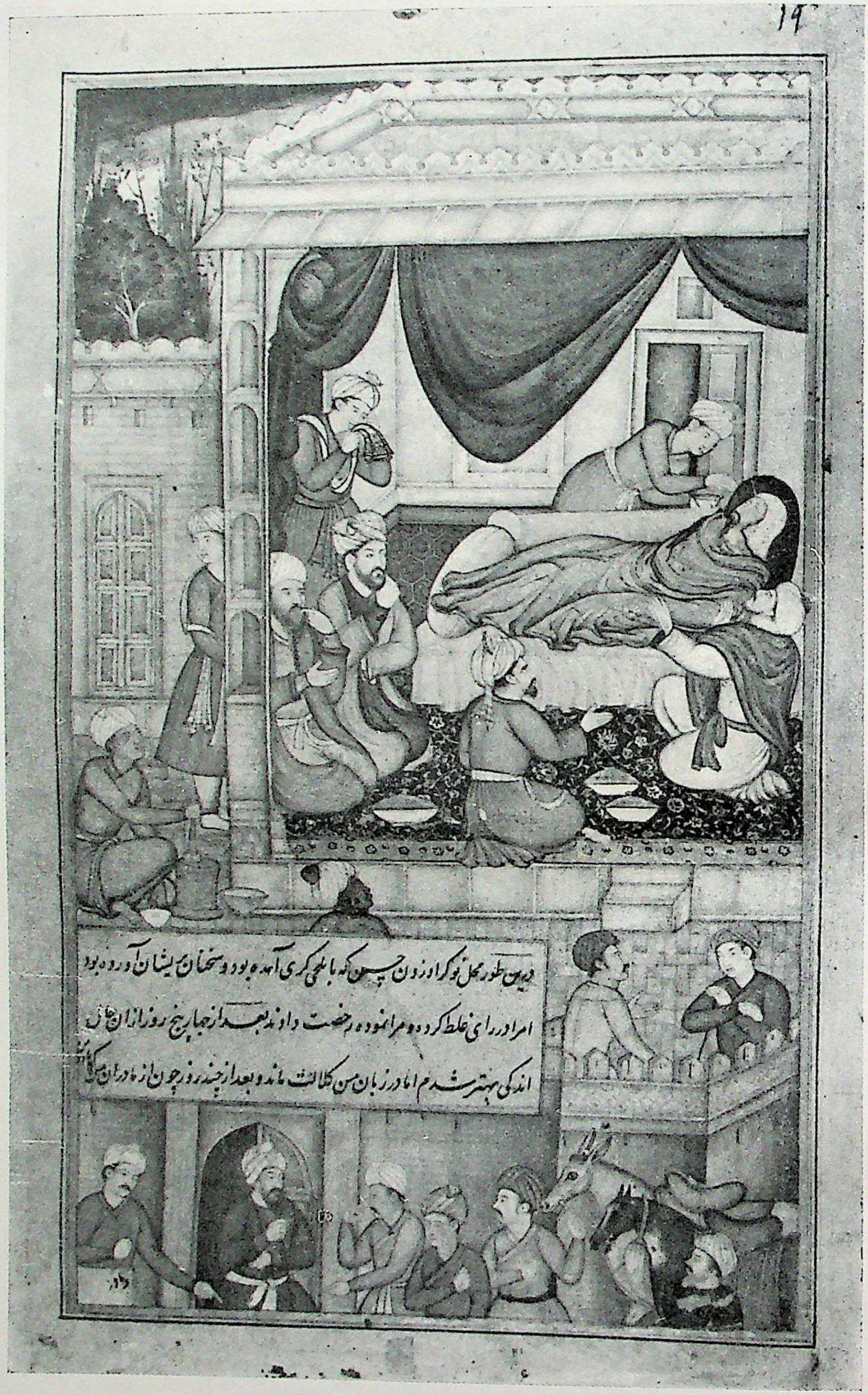
19
دریں طور محل نوکر او زن چینی که با ایلچی گری آمده بود و سخنان ایشان آورده بود
امرا در رای غلط کرده مرا نموده رخصت دادند بعد از چهار پنج روز از آن حال
اندکی بهتر شدم اما در زبان من کلالت ماند و بعد از چند روز چون از ه در این

Fig. 170. Bābar ill and fed on water drops, Mughal, 16th century A.D. *Bābar Nāma*, National Museum.

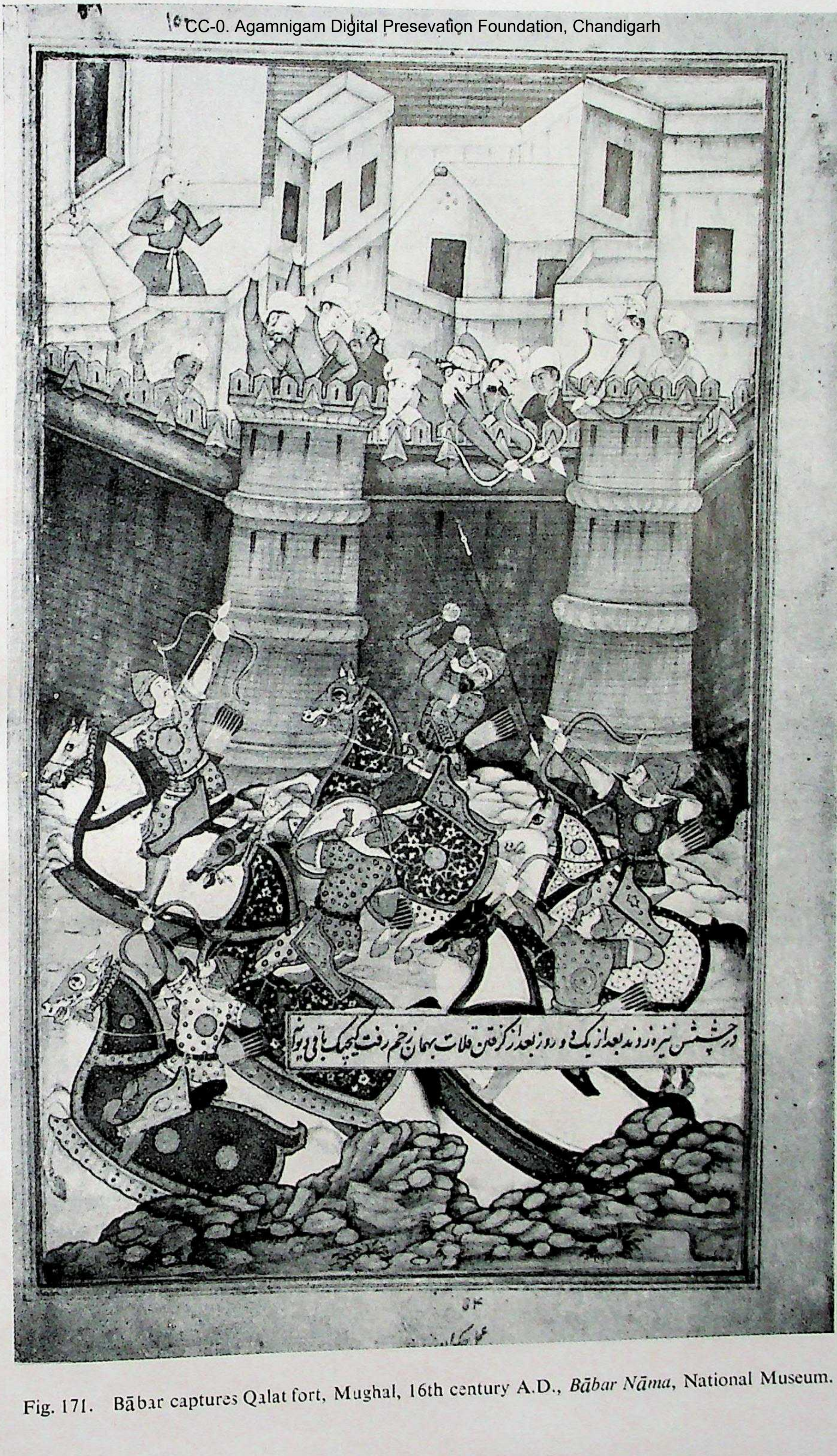
در چشمش نیزه زدند بعد از یک دو روز بعد از گرفتن قلات بهمان زخم رفت کیچیک باقی دیوانه

Fig. 171. Bābar captures Qalat fort, Mughal, 16th century A.D., *Bābar Nāma*, National Museum.

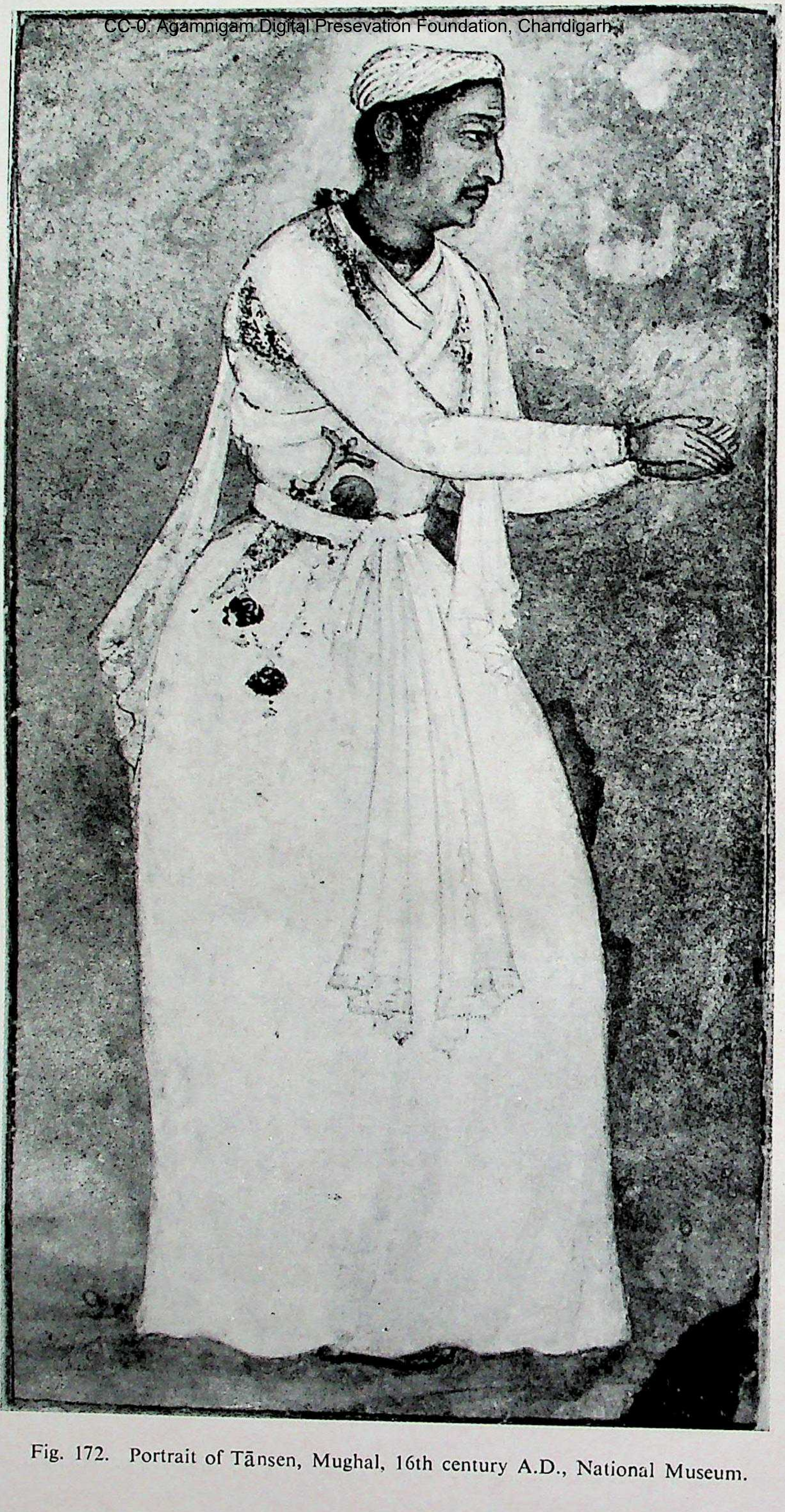

Fig. 172. Portrait of Tānsen, Mughal, 16th century A.D., National Museum.

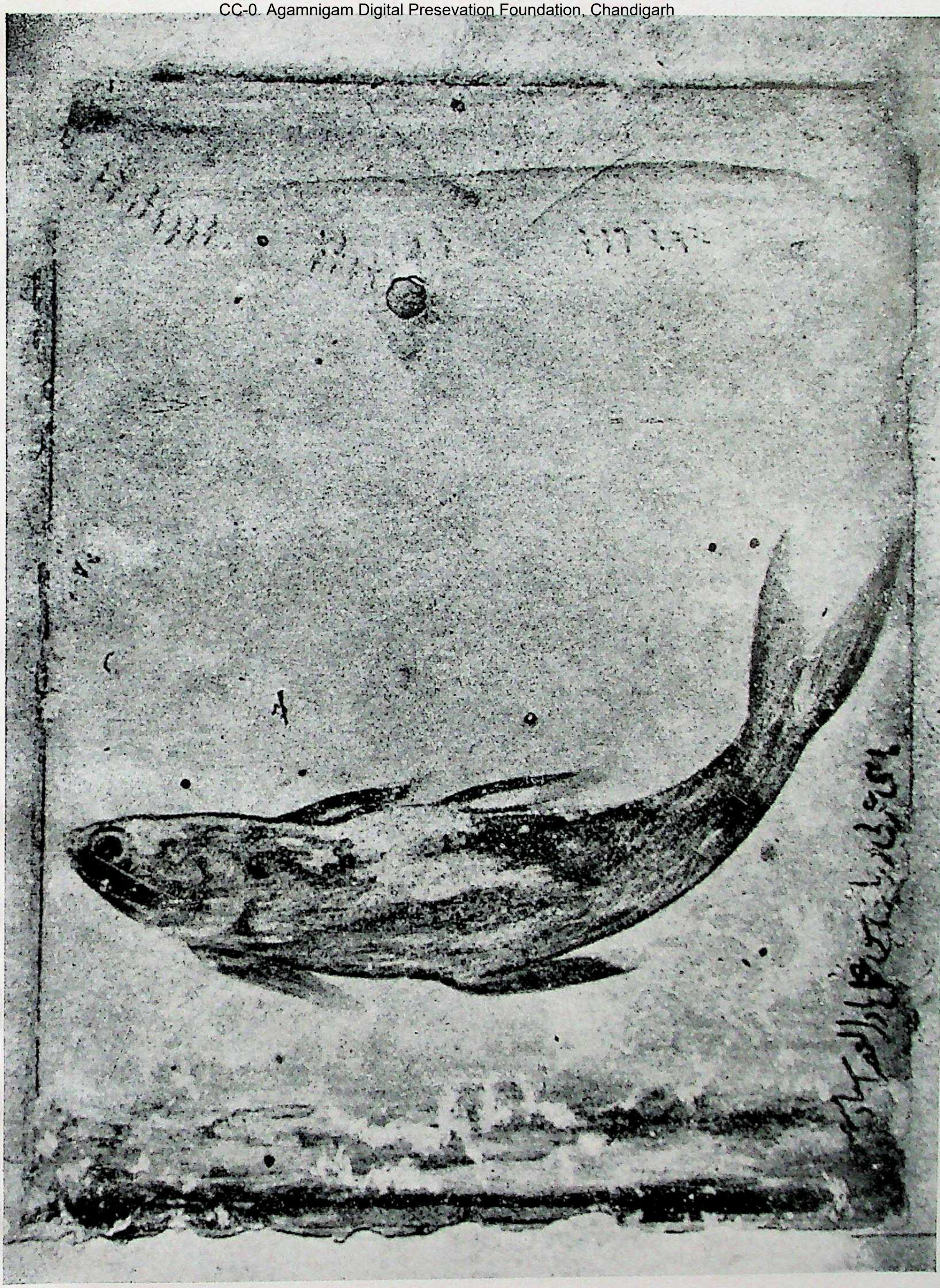

Fig. 173. Salt fish, Mughal, 16th century A.D., Red Fort Museum, New Delhi.

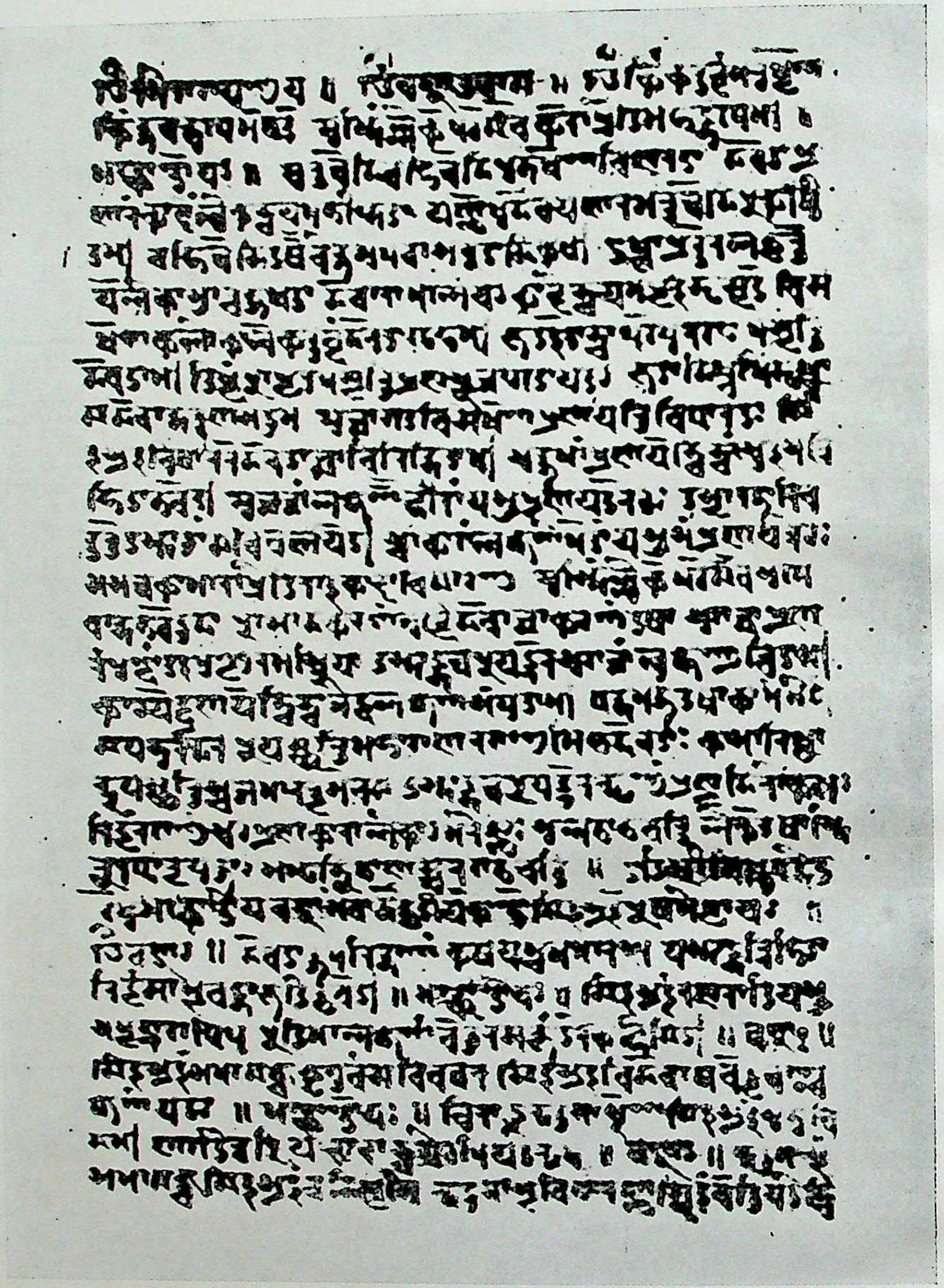

Fig. 175. Manuscript of the *Vishnudharmottara* in Śāradā script: First page of the third *Khaṇḍa*: Coll. Archaeological Survey of India.

This book is an outcome of the Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji Endowment Lectures delivered by the author at the University of Bombay in August 1975.

It deals exhaustively with the six main sources of ancient Indian history viz., sculpture, painting, architecture, coins, epigraphy and manuscripts with stress on the value of literature to shed light in understanding the historical sources themselves. The author has dived deep into every subject and opened up new vistas of knowledge. His profound knowledge of Sanskrit has enabled him to point out the hidden significance of several signs and expressions which had not been dreamt before. His work is of special interest to Sanskritists, Indologists and Art Historians alike, as it is full of apt quotations from several works of Classical Sanskrit Literature which throws a flood of light on the significance of art motifs.